

DE GRUYTER

Thomas Miller

PLACE-NAMES IN THE ENGLISH BEDE AND THE LOCALISATION OF THE MSS.

QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN ZUR SPRACH-
UND CULTURGESCHICHTE DER GERMANISCHEN
VÖLKER

QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN
ZUR
SPRACH- UND CULTURGESCHICHTE
DER
GERMANISCHEN VÖLKER.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

ALOIS BRANDL, ERNST MARTIN, ERICH SCHMIDT.

LXXVIII.

PLACE NAMES IN THE ENGLISH BEDE AND THE LOCALISATION OF THE MSS.

STRASSBURG.
KARL J. TRÜBNER.
1896.

PLACE NAMES

IN THE

ENGLISH BEDE

AND THE

LOCALISATION OF THE MSS.

BY

THOMAS MILLER.

STRASSBURG.

KARL J. TRÜBNER.

1896.

INTRODUCTION.

This examination of English Place Names in Bede's Church History was undertaken with a definite purpose, which has prescribed very narrow limits. It is an attempt to ascertain from the spelling in the Mss the range of local knowledge possessed by the scribes. It was accordingly necessary to settle from contemporary records the form of the word locally in use and, where needful, the date of the use. For the object in view the necessary documents were, besides the Latin and Anglo-Saxon Versions of Bede, only the A.S. Chronicle, the charters, and the few names scattered in Orosius and Ælfric. The modern names have been added, some freshly identified, but most according to the view generally accepted. It would have led too far afield to have included more of the literature bearing on the subject. As it is, the bulk has outgrown the compass of an introduction to the second volume of the edition of the Old English Bede, for which the paper was originally planned. It is now published separately, as it may be of interest to have presented at once the materials offered in the documents mentioned above. Every scholar has felt the difficulty of assigning date and place to Anglo-Saxon Mss. Where possible, the effort should be made to localise Mss. on other than mere dialectical grounds, as an Ms. once localised becomes the starting point for fresh dialectical investigation.

It is assumed that a scribe will be likely to give correctly the names of familiar localities, and to trip over those

less well-known, or to assimilate their forms to those in his own neighbourhood. It is also taken for granted, and is abundantly demonstrated, that the ancient names will be seen shrinking with age and tending to their present shape.

False etymologies have perverted the shape, and literary ingenuity has exhausted itself in variations, as in the case of Ely and Malmesbury. Some of Bede's derivations are clearly wrong, or their immediate application dubious, as in the case of Streoneshalh, Heofonfeld, Selsey. Where it is necessary for purposes of localisation, an attempt has been made to map out the distribution of certain forms, like *stede* in connection with Medeshamstede, and *ea*, *eg*, *ig*, the names for 'isle' or 'eyot', which latter is treated at some length under Ceortes eig, and has been separated from the now lost *ge* (perhaps surviving in *yeoman*) in course of the discussion on Læstinge, Lindissi, 'Surrey' etc.

The existing Mss of the Old English Bede are five in number, two only being complete B. and Ca., two others T. and O. being defective at the beginning and end, and T. having also lost some intermediate leaves. The fifth survives only in fragments, and is known as C. since the time of Wheelocke and Smith, who consulted it before the disastrous fire of 1731. All are fully described in the Introduction to the first volume of the edition published by the Early English Text Society in 1890.

For the purpose of comparison the Latin names, as written in the oldest Mss of Bede, have been given in each case first. These Mss are noticed in the Introduction just mentioned, but are fully described by Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* 1885, from which work the various forms have been copied. M. was written about 737, I and II later in the same century; but M. is Northumbrian, the others come from localities further south. Another Ms. N., of the same century, is rarely cited., as it was written on the Continent and is not an authority at first hand. M. is always cited first, and without addition; the variations in other Mss are marked by their letter.

The Mss. of the A. S. Chronicle aid in settling questions

of time and place. Ms. A. would be invaluable in determining the currency of forms, if a competent palaeographer would undertake the task of settling the succession and dates of the hands. He would be aided by the copy made in the 11th c. Ms. G., which editors have not fully utilised, and in a less degree by Ms B. I have assumed that the hands in A. are contemporary from Alfred onwards, and that the Mss. have their localities correctly assigned, as in the list at the end of this introduction. Ms G. is however not a Canterbury copy made by a Kent scribe. Later on it is shown that the variations of *a* and *o* before nasals determine locality roughly. Now *a* is Kentish, and for *o* of Ms. A. the Canterbury B. writes *a*. There are only rare exceptions as 661, 897, 910, 918, 919, 975 and a few others. But G. while freely altering the Old West-Saxon spelling, especially as regards *ie*, gives *o* the preponderance up to 891 (A's first hand), and in the 10th century occasionally writes *o* where A. has *a*. This Ms. was in the same volume as Ms. C. of Bede. But O. E. B. C. throughout gives *o* a great preponderance. The difference may be in part due to C's original, as undoubtedly G. varies with A., but the tendency in both is pro tanto a proof of their scribes not having come from South of the Thames line. But A. S. C. B. may fairly be assigned to Canterbury, at least on this score. The other Mss. of the A. S. C. are, with the exception of F., sometimes in agreement with A. as against B., but *a* prevails.

In the Charters I have felt obliged to accept the dicta of the editors. A thorough examination of the dialect in the Chartularies, and a precise indication as to the appearance and disappearance of forms will in the end enable us to sift out the later copies. At present "late West Saxon" is a vague elastic term. Later on I shall speak of one or two criteria of date.

In the Introduction to O. E. Bede vol. I, it was shown that Mss. T. and B. must have sprung from one original, and the other three C. O. Ca. from a second. But the relationship between T. and B. is far more remote, than is the case in the second group, where C. and O. are independent,

but closely akin, while Ca. is a transcription of O., as Ms. G. is of Ms. A.

But the grouping by spelling gives very different results. T. and B. stand at the different ends of a series, in which T. and C. come first. Date is of some influence here, but much more locality.

In the following summary, details are omitted, as they are fully given later under the place names.

In the spelling of 'Britain', B. is steadily Southern, the others Midland; but as to 'Briton', while T. is steadily archaic and presumably Midland, B. O. Ca. are later and Southern, C. in this latter case is defective.

The word 'Angle' is by T. C. spelt on-, by B. an-; O. has o : a = 1 : 4; but Ca. 1 : 9. Here date may partly influence Ca.

The word 'Northumbrian' in the A. S. C. appears early with Nordan-, later with Nord-, as first member. Nord- is Alfredian and Southern. T. C. O. Ca. maintain Nordan-, B. has Nord-.

'Mercian'. In A. S. C. A. the first hand (old West Saxon) has Mierce; then in the time of the 'lady of Mercia' (died 918), we find Merce, but from 922 on Myrce, which is the Southern form in all Mss. G. however occasionally writes Merce for Mierce of A. — a proof of Midland affinities. In O. E. B., T. has always e, B. y, C. has e : y = 11 : 1; O. 23 : 19 (e often erased), but Ca. has the proportion reduced to 6 : 54.

The conclusion is that T. is consistently Midland, B. not less steadily Southern. C. has more affinity for the Midlands than the South, O. is rather more Southern, Ca. still more. But then Ca. is the latest of the Mss.

'London'. — Under this word it is shown that the translator did not use the combination current in Alfred's day, as exhibited in the A. S. C. and in charters. The Archetype is followed by all Mss. Besides this B. makes a strange blunder, converting London into an 'island city': see under 'Thames'. Nor was the neighbourhood better known, see under Tilaburh, in Bercingum and Pente.

'Kent'. — This district was not familiar to any scribe. First the name of the people, Cantware, is spelt locally with a, but in Mss. as follows: a : o = $\frac{6}{33}$ T.; $\frac{10}{3}$ C.; $\frac{26}{3}$ O.; $\frac{39}{2}$ Ca.; $\frac{39}{2}$ B. Consequently T. is most remote, then C.; O. Ca. B. more Southern. 'Rochester' yields similar results, and assigns to B. an 11th c. date. Further curious blunders under Cent and Tenet exclude B. O. Ca. from this part of the country. Of course T. is absolutely foreign.

But when we pass into the adjoining Wessex we find that B. is on familiar ground. B. alone is consistently local as to the spelling of Winchester, adopting a form almost modern, while O. is curiously ambiguous, Ca. remote, C. not local, and T. seemingly has a literary form. Further under 'Selsey' and Meanware B.'s knowledge is conclusively shown, and instances of his partiality for Wessex added; see further his spelling of 'Wessex', under Westseaxe. A curious slip by which he substitutes the local river 'Itchen', on which Winchester stands, for the northern Tyne, is noticed under Tine.

It is evident that the other Mss. must be excluded from this district. Further B.'s range westward hardly included Glastonbury, as is shown under Laesting, and C. also fails in the same point.

But 'Malmesbury' — Maldulfesburh — was known locally to Ca. alone, not to C., O., B. (T. is defective). Now Ca. has many affinities in Worcestershire and the neighbourhood, as shown by assimilations, and the same is true of O.

Moreover while B. blunders as to Hwiccas, a district in Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick, i.e. Western and Midland, the others vary only allowably. But further on in Oxon at Dorcetceaster, we find C. B. Ca. local, O. corrected, T. archaic. Still further on B. blunders instructively as to 'Chertsey' — Ceortes eig.

A reference to the list of place names will show that we have traversed the South and returned along the line of the Thames towards London. Knowledge and ignorance alike fix B. not far from Abingdon and Winchester. He was

apparently a Hampshire man. For Ca. a local centre has been ascertained at Malmesbury. Both Ca. and O. are excluded from S. E. England. As Ca. transcribed O., this Ms. was probably in the West also, and all indications will suit with Worcester. Ca. was written by one scribe; O. by several, sometimes *a* is preferred by them before nasals, sometimes *o*; see Introduction to Bede vol. II, and statistics below.

If we now pass to the extreme North, it seems probable that 'Cumberland' was unknown to the Archetype or to any scribe; cp. Deorwentan, Docore, Lugubalia. So was 'Northumberland' to the scribes, see Tuide, Lindisfarne, Farne, Glene, Gefrin, Maelmin, Alne, Tine, Hagostaldes ea. But the Archetype knew Bebbanburh, and the whole county by name at least.

In Durham [the Archetype was well informed; scribes fail in æt Rægeheafde, Pæginaleah.

In Yorkshire the Archetype was well informed, the scribes stumble at — R. Derwent B., Læstinge B. C., Dera Wuda O. Ca., Cetreht O. Ca. B., Wilfaresdun B., Hrypum O. B., Nidd Ca. B., Loidis O. Ca. B. It will be observed that T. is here remarkably correct. That Deira was a name unknown to all is clear. It had long ceased to be locally applied, except in æt Dera Wuda, where O. Ca. substitute a Southern form, and T., as in Heaconos, Weatadun, accords with the Archetype, or gives a Midland dialectic form. The failure as to Calcaceaster is traceable already in the Latin Mss. Did Bede himself confound Calcaria and 'Tadcaster'?

On the N. E. border of Wales 'Chester' is strangely varied by Ca. B., and the Flintshire 'Bangor' has in T. alone an apparently Midland spelling, noticeable already in the Latin: see, under West Midland, Legaceaster and Boncra burh. (The orthography of Sæfern raises a question as to B's date: Hwiccas has been noticed already.)

In Stafford the Archetype and T. are correct as to 'Lichfield'; O. Ca. B. agree with Southern spelling, but C. blunders badly.

In Northampton 'Oundle' as spelt in O. Ca. B. does not

appear for their date to be correctly given. Medeshamstede assumes in Ca. a form suggestive of Worcester. But T. alters the text in such a way that we are forced to assume a local knowledge, which is confirmed by the external history of the Ms, and fits in with T's undoubted familiarity with North Mercia. We have once more found a local centre; T's knowledge indeed was not equally diffused all round, but we have a proof that the Old English Version was valued and studied in this part of England, from the fact that an addition was made to the text in East Anglia, and by a rude hand, for 'the general reader' as we may suppose. But T's failure along the Thames and south of it is as marked, as his correctness in North Mercia (see under Cneoferesburh).

In Lincolnshire the degradation of the local Lindis' ge into Lindissi is already complete in the Latin, and the confusion with ea, ig begun. T. retains the archaic Lindisse, which from its reappearance in the Peterborough Chronicle (A. S. C. E.), has a claim to local authority. The variations in O. Ca. B., as compared with A. S. C. seem of Southern origin. 'Bardney' seems correctly rendered by all. At 'Partney' all diverge from the Latin; T. may be correct; O. Ca. have Southern assimilation (Worcester; cp. 'Portbury' Somerset); B. blunders. The connection of Lindocolinum and colonia can hardly be affirmed, but the scribes use the orthography of their day, T. being rather archaic (A solution is proposed as to the identification of 'Torksey' under Teolfinga ceaster).

In Cambridge 'Ely' was unfamiliar ground to all scribes, and it would appear to the Archetype also. At 'Grantchester' B. blunders curiously, but exhibits a hearsay knowledge, or the traces of correction, confused again, from an East Anglian scribe.

So we have completed the round of England, and when it is added that the spelling of Pente, the Essex river, is so corrected in B. Ca., that it suggests an 11th century date, we are brought again into the neighbourhood of London.

For all Mss the principle of exclusion by mistakes has given results, which are confirmed by the test of correctness, and in the case of B., Ca., T., rendered almost certain by

positive evidence as to locality. Some further conclusions are fairly probable, and an earlier opinion is confirmed.

In vol. I. *Introd.* it was argued at length that the Archetype was Mercian. A review of place names shows failure as to London. This probably excludes Kent, and Alfred's own words (*C. P. Preface*), absolutely forbid the idea of collaboration by Kentish scholars. It is shown under *Seles ea* and *Meanware*, that the Archetype took over non-local forms from Latin and Mercian. It was therefore not by a native of Wessex. The Archetype was not well informed as to East Anglia and was careless, or more than careless of its fame; see 'Ely' and *Cneoferesburh*, and *cp. Intr. vol. I p. XXIV*. But the North was well known, and Mercian history; see *Bebbanburh*, *Yorkshire passim*, *Beardan ea etc.* etc. We should recall also the close connection between Worcester and York; *cp. Introd. vol. I p. LXVII* for further particulars.

Ms O. cannot belong to North Mercia. Like the rest it is excluded from London, and undoubtedly from Kent. It is not local in Hants; but many hands were at work, and one must have had some knowledge as to 'Winchester', see under the name. Probably East Oxfordshire was unknown ('Dorchester'). Worcester or its neighbourhood suits well with all notes of place, and with dialectical indications.

Ms. C. gives only a few fragmentary indications. The error as to 'Lichfield' excludes it from North Mercia. It is not local at Glastonbury or Malmesbury, that is in the S. W. corner of Mercia, and the adjoining Wessex; (see also *Læstinge* for Yorks). London, Kent, Winchester were remote. It is correct as to *Hwiccas*, and 'Dorchester' i. e. as to central Mercia, and its Southern border.

It may fairly be concluded that a Mercian Archetype lies before us in five *Mss.*, respectively, from North, Central, West, and South West Mercia, and from Wessex. The Wessex copy diverges most widely from the Archetype; *cp. 'Selsey' and Pref. vol. I.*

The variation of *a* and *o* before nasals has been shown to be a test of locality.

The history of this nasal *a* is one of shift and change.

The Northumbrian documents show advance, *a* at first preponderating, or having an equal share in the words, then *o* almost monopolising them — This is seen (i) in the Latin Mss. of Bede, Cædmon's Hymn, Bede's death hymn; (ii) in the Genealogies where earlier Northumbrian kings have *a*, later *o*; (iii) in the *Liber Vitae*, — cp. *Anna* the king with *Onna* the later monk; (iv) in the Lindisfarne Gospels, where *a* is hardly found, except in verbs like *ongann* etc., and in the Durham Ritual. — But finally the late 10th c. entries in the *Liber Vitae* show a return to *a*, C. S. 1254—6.

In East Anglia the early king is *Anna*, (in the A. S. C. A. spelt *Onna*); but there is a lack of other early evidence; (*Dom-moc* cannot be classed here: see under Place Names); late evidence of Charters 10th c. onwards, yield only *a*. The Blickling Homilies have no clear pedigree; but in them *a* preponderates. It may be said that East Anglia favours *a*.

In the earliest Kentish and Saxon Charters we have *a* in the Mercian *o*, (*Onnan* in 759; cp. *Anna*). In the 9th century Kentish at first prefer *o*, later *a*, this *a* being especially marked in rough local documents, W. Saxon also prefer *o*; Saxon Kentish at first *o*, then in great preponderance *a*. But Mercian and Mercian-Kentish always *o*.

The Vespasian Psalter (850) has always *o*.

Alfred's *Cura Pastoralis* (early 10th c.) has *a* : *o* = 3 : 4 Orosius, 1 : 3; the first hand in A. S. C. Ms. A., 3 : 4 (more exactly $\frac{67}{100}$, $\frac{36}{100}$, $\frac{61}{100}$). This excludes pronouns, adverbs, and preposition *on* not in composition. *Mon* and its kindred enter in largely. Indeed in all documents everywhere *mon* enters in early, and is among the latest to retire.

The further history of this *a* and *o* is as follows.

The 2nd hand in A. S. C. A. (892) shows *o* declining, but it is not a regular decline, the hand ending with 921 showing more examples of *o* than the 2nd. But after this and onwards *o* is in a small minority up to the end of the 10th c. It may be noted that Westsaxon *ie* disappears after 924, and from Charters also soon after 930. This seems

a suitable epoch for dating the commencement of „Late West Saxon“, see C. S. 678, and cp. 753, 1233.

The examination of „original“ and „contemporary“ documents in the C. S. from 901 to 975, when this collection closes, shows the rapid disappearance of *o*. A few are added from Sweet's Second Anglo-Saxon Reader in order to carry on the results later. Again adverbs, conjunctions and pronouns are excluded; *on* has been excluded, *from*, *fram* included. Names of persons are only rarely included as supplementary evidence.

In Kent *a* before nasals is the absolute rule. The only exception is in No. 702 (A. D. 934), where Kent bounds are dealt with in a Winchester Witenagemot. There are besides 10 Charters. It may be added that broken *ea* is also the rule except in an occasional personal name; in 1010 *geþæhte* occurs once.

Worcester and its neighbourhood offer a standing contrast. Here at the beginning of the 10th c. *o* is the absolute rule, (*all* is found unbroken) C. S. 609. In the great Pershore charter *a* is more than double of *o*; (break of *a* mostly before *r*, not so often before *l*); see C. S. 1282, A. D. 972. In Sweet No. 40, A. D. 1042 *a : o* = 5 : 2. The sole Hereford document C. S. 1040 A. D. 958 has *o : a* = 9 : 1 (*in*, *on* as prepositions each 8 times; cp. Bede Introduction vol. I, p. xxxvii sq.). Oxon C. S. 945, A. D. 956 has *a : o* = 11 : 10, the locality is less than 10 miles N. of Dorchester; but 965, 1176 about the same date have *a* only. In Wilts *o* absolute in C. S. 951 (before A. D. 924), and in a minority in 677 A. D. 931, disappears thenceforth (a solitary *from* in 748 A. D. 940). Cornwall, Somerset, and Devon give no ex., Dorset one (*ondlang* but also *andlang* twice C. S. 1165), Hants a solitary *ealdormonnes* in 620 A. D. 909, and *sponford*, place name C. S. 1066. Similarly uniform are Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Bucks, Berks, Beds, Herts, Hunts, Cambs, Suffolk (*lichoma* once, abundant *a*), Warwick, Northampton, Stafford (one ex. C. S. 1312). Of course the influence of the royal chancery produces these results, which are in striking contrast to the Rushworth

Matthew from North Mercia which exhibits *a* to *o* in a proportion of nearly 1 to 7; but if we exclude *gang* and its derivatives the proportion becomes 1 to 13 (see Brown. Die Sprache d. Rushworth Mathäus 1891; *an* p. 20, line 4 is an error).

The documents in Earle L. C. 229—33, relating to or connected with York, show *a* only. Compare what was noted above as to the Durham Liber Vitae in the 10th c.

Some light on the survival of *o* in the Midlands is derived from the Life of Chad (Anglia X), an apparently Anglian (Lichfield?) homily copied early in the 12th century from an older document. Here $a : o = 3 : 4$ (omitting *on*, adverbs, conjunctions, pronouns). It has *fram* only; *land* only; but *ealond*; *man* oftener than *mon* etc. etc., *gong*, *gongan* only, *nama*, (*ge*)*nam* only.

In order to compare the Mss. of O. E. B. with one another it is necessary to confine the comparison to portions extant in C., and for reasons given in Introduction vol. I to take the work of the first scribe only in T. The results of an examination of C., folios 1, 4—10, 15 = printed text 168—170; 236—306; 344—346 with the other Mss. gives these results. T. has *manna* once, *land* 3, Anna (the King) 2, *ongan* 1, only 7 exx. in all, *mon* 20 exx., *lond* 14 exx., *ongon* once etc.; *on* as prep. and in composition always, adverbs and conjunctions *pon*, *ponne* etc. always but not included in the proportion, which on the whole is, $a : o = 1 : 17$; (*gong*, *gongan*, always).

Next in purity comes C., but with over 25 exx. of *a*; *gangan* once, *-nam* (sb) 6 exx., *man* 3, *land* 3, *ongan* twice, *adranc* twice etc. etc. On the whole $a : o = 1 : 5$. A speciality is *ond* in full 120 times (not included in the proportion).

But O. Ca. give *a* the majority in the proportion of $a : o = 9 : 5$ nearly for both, but with curious occasional preferences, e. g. O. preferring *lichaman* (9) to *lichoman* (1), Ca writing *o* only. I have pointed out in Introduction vol. II, that the round hand in O. shows a preference for *a*, the up-right for *o*.

Finally B. has about half a dozen examples of *o*, *Meon-*

ware and *Iarumon*, (both instructive), *fromsum*, *somod* once, *monig* once (*manig* often), *ond* twice (*and* once, otherwise 7), *won þe* once.

It will be seen that T. is superior in purity of *o* to the Rushworth Matthew, but the amount of collective examples in the latter is much larger.

For other scribes in T. see Introd. p. LIV.

If these statistics as to Mss. O. E. B. are compared with the historical and local survey given above, the results will be found to correspond with great exactness to the results obtained from the independent examination of Place Names. The Mss. may be taken with some confidence as the basis of further dialectical investigation. Rich materials exist for this purpose ready to hand in the Chartularies so often already cited, Heming's Worcester Chartulary, the Codex Wintoniensis for Winchester, the Textus Roffensis for Rochester, the Liber de Hyda etc. When the results from these, and from the stores of the Cartularium Saxonicum, and Codex Diplomaticus are collated, we shall have really scientific data for the classification of the existing manuscripts of the Anglo Saxon period.

Note on nasal *a*, *o* in Poetical Mss.

The percentage of nasal *o* in the chief Mss. is as follows: 1. Exoniensis 94; 2. Alfred's Metra 57; 3. Satan 52; 4. Beowulf 43 (a 36, b 58); 5. Genesis 37; 6. Vercelli 18; 7. Exodus and Daniel 12; 8. Psalms 4. Nos 3, 5, 7 are in one Ms., but 3 is by a different scribe. The frequency of the preposition *in* gives the following order: 1. Satan; 2. Exoniensis; 3. Exodus and Daniel; 4. Vercelli; 5. Beowulf; 6. Genesis; 7. Metres. (Byrhtnoth would come last in both lists). Further, *gie* (palatal) is almost confined to Exoniensis, Genesis, and Metres, *gief* „if“ does not occur: *hie* (pronoun) is found chiefly in Cædmon, Vercelli and Beowulf. Clearly Exoniensis has more Midland affinities than Vercelli. But the significance of these and other points I hope to show elsewhere.

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES.

	Page		Page
Bretone	17	LANCASHIRE?	
Angel, Ongel — Ongle	19	Maserfeld	30
Englisc	21		
Nordanhymbre	22	NORTHUMBERLAND	
Beornice	22		
Dere	22	Tuide	31
Merce	23	Lindisfarena ea	31
Seaxe (E. S. W.)	23	Farne	32
Hibernia	25	Bebbanburh	33
Scotland etc.	26	Glene	33
Peohtas	27	Gefrin	33
Monige	28	Maelmen	33
Orcades	28	Alne	34
Hii	28	æt Twifyrde	34
Æbberecurnig	28	Tine	34
Coludes burh	29	æt Walle	35
in Cununingum	29	Hagustaldes ea	35
Degsastan	29	Denises burna	35
Dalreadingas	29	Heofonfeld	36
æt Hwitan ærne	29	in Gyrwum	36
Mailros	30		
CUMBERLAND		DURHAM	
Lugubalia	30		
Docore d.	30	æt Rægeheafde	36
Deorwentan g.	30	Wire muða	36

	Page		Page
Pæginaleah	37	NORTHAMPTON	
Heorotea	37	in Undalum	49
		Gyrwas	50
		Medeshamstede	50
YORKSHIRE			
Streoneshalh	38		
Deorwentan d.	39	NOTTS	
Læstinge	40	Trentan g.	52
Heacanos	41	Tunnanceaster	52
Stanford	41		
Wetadun	41		
Godmundingaham	42	LINCOLN	
in Dera Wuda	42	Lindissi	53
Swalwan d.	42	Lindisfare	54
in Getlingum	43	Lindcylene g.	54
Cetreht	43	æt Bearwe	55
Wilfaresdun	43	Beardanea	55
Eoforwic	43	Beardsæte	55
in Hrypum	44	Peortanea	55
Nidd	45	Teolfinga ceaster	56
Calcaceaster	45		
Winwed	45		
Loidis	45	NORFOLK	
in Dona felda	46		
Hæðfeld	46	Cnoferesburg	56
WEST MIDLAND		SUFFOLK	
Legaceaster	46	Dommoc	57
Bonera burh	47	Rendlesham	57
Sæfern	47		
Breodun	48	ESSEX	
Hwiccas	48		
		Pente	58
		Ydpanceaster	58
STAFFORD		Tilaburh	58
Licedfeld	48	in Bercingum	58

	Page		Page
CAMBRIDGE		Wantsumo	71
Elig	59	Reaculfe	71
Grantaceaster	60		
		SURREY	
HERTS		Sudrigena g. p.	72
Heorotford	61	Ceortes eig	72
Wæclinga ceaster	62		
Werlama ceaster	62	SUSSEX	
Hæðfeld	62	Selesea	75
		Bosanham	76
MIDDLESEX			
Lundenceaster	62	HANTS	
Temes	63	Wintanceaster	76
		æt Stane	77
OXON		Hreodford	77
Dorcetceaster	64	Solunte	77
		Wiht	78
KENT		Wihtsæte	78
Cent	65	Meanware	78
Cantwara burh	66		
Hrofesceaster	69	WILTS	
Clofeshoh	69	Maldulfes burh	79

Works referred to.

- A. S. C. = Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Ed. Thorpe, 1861.
A. = first hand to 891. Winchester to 1001; then
Canterbury to 1070. Latin 1070—1089. [A] =
late interpolations.
B. = ends 977, all in one hand; 10th cent.
C. = first hand to 1046, ends 1066, Abingdon.
D. = first hand to 1016, ends 1079, Worcester.
E. = first hand to 1122, ends 1154, Peterborough.
F. = one hand to 1056, 12th cent. Canterbury.

G. = ends 1001, copy of A with spelling changed, published by Wheelocke. Now burnt except a few fragments: was in same volume with Ms. C. of Old English Bede.

Charters, (I) Sweet, Old English Texts (O. E. T.).

(II) C(odex) D(iplomaticus), ed. Kemble.

(III) C(artularium) S(axonicum), ed. Gray de Birch.

(IV) Earle, Land charters etc. 1888. Those marked by Kemble with a star are 'forgeries'.

Texts locally authoritative are (i) Heming (H.) for Worcester, late 11th cent. (ii) T(extus) R(offensis) for Kent, 12th cent. (iii) C(odex) W(intonienis) for Winchester, 12th cent.

Ælfric's Homilies are cited from Thorpe; the Lives of Saints from Skeat E. E. T. S.; both works are from 11th cent. Mss.

Baeda Historia Ecclesiastica = L(atin) B(ede). Names are cited from Sweet O. E. T. pp. 132—147. When the Mss. are specified M = Northumbrian Ms. early 8th c.; I, II Mss. from South or Mid England of 8th c. but later; N. also 8th c. is a Continental copy. Citations only refer to portions translated into Anglo Saxon. The first citation is always from the Moore Ms. The Mss. I, II are cited when they differ from M.; but N. is only occasionally noticed.

Orosius and Cura Pastoralis ed. Sweet E. E. T. S.

The Old English Bede E. E. T. S. 1890, the Anglo Saxon version of B. H. E. (O. E. B.) The Mss. are T., (the scribes when particularised are T.¹ T.⁵ — the greater part by T.¹); O. Ca. B. C. Complete are Ca. (an 11th c. copy of O.), and B.; T. O. are defective at beginning and end. Of C. only fragments remain.

The Latin names from L. B. are given first; then the English from O. E. B. Mss. Then come the forms in full from A. S. C., Charters, Ælfric and Orosius. Arch. is the supposed original form of a name used by the Translator. A few detached lines of the Anglo Saxon Bede found in an old Ms. are cited as Z.; see Introduction to O. E. B. Vol. I.

O. E. B. is cited by page and line, L. B. sometimes by reference to O. E. B., sometimes by book and chapter.
B. T. = Bosworth-Toller A. S. Dictionary.

BRITAIN, ENGLAND.

Brittania, Britania, Britanniae pl., gens Anglorum once.
n. s. Breotone Ca. Breoton Ca. Bryten Ca. B. Bryton Ca.
Brytene C. B.
a. s. Breotone T. C. O. Ca. Breoton Ca. Breotene T. T.⁴
C. O. Ca. Brytene O. Ca. B. Brytone O. Brotene Ca.
g. d. s. Breotone T. Z. C. O. Ca. Breotene T. T.⁴ T.⁵ C.
O. Ca. Brotene Ca. Brytene C. O. Ca. B. Bry-
tone O. Ca. B. Bretene C. Britene B. Brytton Ca.
g. p. Breotona O. Ca. Breotono T.
Breoton cynn O. Ca. Breoton rice Ca. Brytene rice B.
Bryten rice B.
Arch. Breoton.

VARIATIONS.

	eo, o	eo, e	y, o	y, e	e, e	o, o	o, e	i, e	Total
T ¹	55	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	58
T ⁴	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
T ⁵	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
O	39	5	5	7	—	—	—	—	56
Ca	92	19	3	3	—	1	1	—	119
C	11	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	15
B	—	—	1	117	—	—	—	1	119
	197	34	9	129	1	1	1	1	—

A. S. C. Breten, Breten(e) lond, in A. always up to 601,
C. once in poetry 937.
Bryten, Brytenland, 10th cent and onwards all Mss.,
(A. 937, 975).
Brytten, Britten F. E. once each.
Britten C. 1. F. 1.

Briton F. 1.

Brytland F. 1.

Orosius, Britannia, Brettannia, Bretanie, Brettanie.

The name is not found in A. S. C. from 601 to 937 except in E., 3. F., 1. Its use therefore is not Alfredian. For „England“ Alfred uses Angelcynn (C. P.), which is also common in A. S. C. The use of Englaland begins in A. S. C. with 11th c. (785 D. E. F. and onwards). It establishes itself in Cnut's time. In the Laws it is found A. D. 991 (Ed. Schmidt p. 204, 225, 250). Ælfric has it, Hom. 2, 120; Saints 1, 414 (bis), 454. 2, 124. O. E. B. has Engla londe 358, 21 = terras Anglorum, regio A., i. e. „Angles“. For the whole country O. E. B. has (i) þeode Ongolcynnes (ii) rice Ongolcynnes (iii) mægðe Ongolcynnes (iv) folc O. c. (v) in pl. folc o. c. = populi Anglorum. But Breoton is most usual, = L. B., except once as above.

BRITONS

Bretton- s. and p., Brettonicus, Brittani, Britannia.
Brettas, Bryt, Bryttas, Brittas. Arch. Brettas.

Forms in O. E. B

	e	y	i
T.	26	0	0
C.	1	1	0
O.	3	24	0
Ca.	2	54	1
B.	0	58	0

Forms in A. S. C.

	e	y	i
A.	10	0	0
B.	0	10	0
C.	0	11	0
D.	1	9	0
E.	0	11	3
F.	0	5	4
G.	3	7	0

Orosius, Brettas.

Ælfrie, Bryttas.

Clearly Brettas is the old form. The word is not found in A. S. C. A. after 890: G. mostly alters *e* to *y*.

T. in O. E. B. is consistently archaic and we may say northern.

ANGEL, ONGEL.

I. Angli.

1 Angle *g. s.* B. 164, 25; other Mss. *g. p.*

2 in 456, 10, O. Ca. have Engle *d. s.* C. ongle
cynne B. angeldeode.

Arch. Ongel.

Elsewhere this name in sing. seems only used of the original district in Denmark, called Angel in A. S. C., and Angulus in O. E. B. 52, 8. The usage is confined mostly to compounds. There is no example in Bosworth-Toller. But the evidence of B. C. O. Ca. shows that it is not an isolated scribal error. For Angulus Orosius has Ongle.

II. Angli, Anglorum gens, genus, natio, imperium, ecclesia, provincia 274, 19.

1 ongol- 2 ongel- 3 angol- 4 angel- 5 angell-, all with
cirice, cyn, cyning, cynrice, folc, peod.

VARIATIONS (II. III.).

	o, o	o, e	a, o	a, e
T. ¹	71	4	—	—
T. ³	1	—	—	—
T. ⁴	—	2	—	—
T. ⁵	1	—	—	—
C.	2	15	—	—
O.	1	17	—	64
Ca.	2	10	10	90
B.	—	1	—	110

Arch. Ongol, Ongel.

A. S. C. 1 Angeleyn, 2 Ongoleyn, 3 Ongeleyn, 4 Engeleynn,
5 Ængeleyn.

Ælfric, Angelcynn.

In A. S. C. 1 is general, the others sporadic; 2, 3, occur only in A. G., 816, 885, 901; 4 and 5 only in D. 787 (e), 836 (æ), 886 (æ); æ = e is a characteristic of D's first hand. All examples of all A. S. C. Mss. amount to 100, always with cyn, except F. 873, angelscole. Collective examples of Mss. in O. E. B. = 401 under heads II, III.

ANGLE, ONGLE, ENGLE.

III. Angli.

Ongle T.¹ 6; T.⁴ 1; O. 2; C. 2. Angle O. 2; Ca. 4;
B. 5. Engle O. 6; Ca. 6; B. 4.

Arch. Ongle.

A. S. C. Engle, Angle.

Laws, Engle, Angle.

Ælfric, Angle = "Angles" (H. 2, 120; S. 2, 132); but Engla
peode = "English nation" H. 2, 132.

In O. E. B. T. uses Engle only as tribal name = 'Angles'
O. Ca. B. use the forms indiscriminately.

A. S. C. uses Engle = 'English' except 596 B. C., 975 C.
where Angle = 'English'; but in 975 D. E. Angle
= 'Angles'.

The tribes in A. S. C. are (Nordhymbre), Middilengle,
Eastengle. The Laws (Schmidt Index; best Mss 1000—1050)
give anglum once in text, with v. l. englum = 'English'; see
p. 194.

THE TRIBES.

I. Orientales Angli, natio Anglorum, Angli, Estrangli
(Eastr — Ms I).

Eastengle T. C. O. Ca. B = Arch.

A. S. C. Eastengle (D. often — ængle); see below.

Ælfric, Eastengle.

C. S. 53 æstrangli (Cod. Win.).

O. E. B. use the name generally for Lat. O. A.; but also
for Angli 124, 30; 142, 23, which shows care in the
translator. A. S. C. has Est — twice, 885 G. 897 D.,

very rarely Eastangle E. 1038. The weak g. p. -englena stands in B. once; — englan is very rare, 1017 C. D. E. F. cp. 449. But englene (sic) 1065, D., englan A. B. 473 = "English".

II. Mediterranei Angli (passim), — engli II. N.; also Middilangli (-aengli -engli I.), twice.

Middelengle T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

A. S. C. Middelengle 653 B. C. E.

Middelangle 449 [A]. E.

ENGLISC.

(I) Anglus; (II) Anglorum (lingua); Saxonica (lingua) 408, 14.

(I) with cyn, men, or absolute, Englisc T. O. Ca. B. Englisca B. Ca. -iscean O. -escan T.

(II) of language, Englisc, n. a. s. T. O. Ca. B. 158, 20; 466, 2.

in Englisc, T. O. Ca. C. on E. T. O. Ca. B.

in E. gereorde, T. O. Ca. on Englisce reorde, B.

A. S. C. Englisc = (I) and (II).

Ælfric, Englisc.

In O. E. B., A. S. C., and Ælfric always = "English", never "Angle".

O. E. B. applies it to speech of various parts of England, North 156, 8, 158, 20, 342, 8; Midland (York) 332, 28; East 210, 24, 320, 8; Kent 110, 12 (Anglorum sermo), 408, 14 (Saxonica lingua). But in 168, 35 Seaxna gereorde (Saxonum lingua) of a Wessex king (B. has Westseaxna). This last exceptional instance contradicts Alfred's usage, who calls his own language Englisc in C. P. Preface. 'Saxonici sermones' continued long as Latin term e. g. C. D. 674, A. D. 990 (Worcester). But C. S. 1003, A. D. 957, Anglica appellatione (Hunts). Latin Bede (IV, 17), has Saxonico vocabulo of Haethfelth = Hatfield, Herts (not in O. E. B.) while of Hefenfelth (Northumberland), he has lingua Anglorum = on Englisc. These examples point to a distinct and partially surviving difference.

OTHER TRIBES.

Nordanhymbri.

- (I) Nordanhymbre T.¹ T.⁵ C. O. Ca. passim
- (II) Nordanhimbre O. 1. (III) Nordanhumbre Ca. 1.
- (IV) Nordhymbre B. passim. T. 1. Ca. 1.
- (V) Nordhimbre B. 10. O. 1.
- (VI) Nordhembre Ca. I. (VII) Nordhymbre B. 1.
- (VIII) Norhymbre B. 1.

Arch. Nordanhymbre.

A. S. C. Nordanhymbre before 867, except 601, 625; from 867 Nordhymbre (not in 876). Other forms are Nordanhimbre D. 795. Nordhimbre E. 656. Nordanhumbre G. 876, Nordhumbre G. 867, F. often. Nordumbre F. once. Norhymbre F. 705. Nordhymbre F. 793. On the whole Nordan- in proportion to Nord- is found in Mss. thus:

$$\frac{12}{15} \text{ A.}, \frac{10}{13} \text{ B.}, \frac{9}{21} \text{ C.}, \frac{5}{42} \text{ D.}, \frac{12}{34} \text{ E.}, \frac{0}{8} \text{ F.}$$

Ælfric, Nordhymbre, Nordhymra Hom 2. 356.

Nordanhymbre in A. S. C. is pre Alfredian, but is reproduced in the later Mss. The striking contrast between the Mss. T. C. O. Ca. of O. E. B. on one side and Ms. B. on the other, taken along with A. S. C. usage points out Nord- as probably Southern.

Bernicii.

Beornice T. C. O. Ca. B. = Arch. Variations, g. p.
Beornicea T. O. Ca. d. p. Beornicium O. g. p. Beorneca C.
A. S. C. Beornicum 678 E. Bærnicum 634 E.

Deri, Deiri.

- (I) Dere T. O. Ca. B. (II) Daera B. (III) Dære T. B. C. O. Ca.
- (IV) Đara T. (V) Deara C. (VI) Dederā B.
- (VII) Deora B. T.⁴ (VIII) Deera O.

Arch. Dere, Deere?

A. S. C. (I) Dere, 678 E. (II) Dearnerice, 634, 643 E.
Ælfric, Dere.

This pre Saxon word became soon obsolete, as A. S. C. shows by its silence. E. follows Lat. Bede III, 1, 14; IV, 12.

The spelling Deera in O. is found only in D. wuda; see under name. But if we assume a variation in the archetype Dee-, miswritten late Dæe-, Dæ- we can readily account for scribal errors. In 236, 28 O. E. B. B. has Deora byrig mægðe, i. e. Derby, which however was locally Deoraby, A. S. C. 917 B. C. D. etc., a twofold error showing ignorance of history shared by the other scribes, and want of familiarity with the Midlands.

Mercii, Mercī, Aquilonales M., Australes M.

Merce, Myrce, Nord M. Sud M.

T. has e always, all scribes; T.¹ T.⁴ æ once each.

B. has always y, except once i.

C. has e : y = 12 : 1.

O. has e : y = 23 : 19, e often erased.

Ca. has e : y = 6 : 54.

Myrna is an error in O. B. twice.

A. S. C. Mierce A. Merce A. 4; G. 9; C. D. F. 1. E. 2.

Myrce B. C. D. E. F. passim, A. 4; G. 23.

Mirce 704 E. Merna 825 G.

Ælfric, Myrce.

In A. S. C. Mierce is the exclusive form in A., except Merce 853, up to the end of the 9th cent. Then for a few years, Merce ("the lady of Mercia" died 922 A. S. C. A.); after 923 (ie) only Myrce. G. writes for ie, sometimes e, mostly y. (I note here that ie is very rare in A. S. C. A. after 921 in all words). Clearly Merce remains as local, Myrce becomes exclusive Southern form. T. then is Midland and archetypal. B. southern. C. O. waver. Ca. takes the later S. form, though transcribing O.

1. Saxones; 2. Orientales S.; 3. Meridiani S.; 4. Occidentales, Occidui S.

1. Seax- T. C. O. Ca. B. Sex- B. 2. † westseaxna B. 168, 3; † Wesseaxena B. 248, 17.

Arch. Seax-. A. S. C. Seax-.

2. Eastseax- T. Z. C. O. Ca. B. -sex- C. 1. B. 2. Arch.
Eastseax-.

A. S. C. A has ea : e = 7 : 1; B = 0 : 6; C = 0 : 6; D = 11 : 1; E = 9 : 0; F = 1 : 3; G = 7 : 1.

C. S. 81, orig., A. D. 692—3, Eastsexanorum, local.

C. D. 1288, contemp.?, before 988, Eastseaxan, Kent.

C. D. 788, contemp.?, 1049, Eastsexan.

I add here A. S. C. Middelseax- A. 653; D. E. 1011.
-sex- C. F. 1011. Charters. C. S. 111. orig. of 704, Middelseaxan, Essex. C. S. 201, orig. of 767, Midilsæxum, Mercian.
C. D. 1288, cont., before 988 (Earle p. 211), Middelseaxan, Kent.

3. Sudseax- T.¹ T.³ C. O. Ca. B.; Sudsex- B. 1.

A. S. C. -Seax- A. G. B. has ea : e = 6 : 3; C = 6 : 11;
D = 12 : 3; E = 13 : 3; F = 1 : 5.

Charters C. D. 1288, sudseaxna.

4. Westseax- T. C. O. Ca. B.; -sex- O. 4; Ca. 1; B. 9;
(N. B. -Seax- 39 times in Ca.) -seaxs- O. 2. Wess-
T.⁴ 2; B. 11; Wessex- B. 1; Wæss- B. 1; Wæst B. 1.

A. S. C. A. has ea : e = 38 : 1 (921); B. = 16 : 19; C. = 12 : 41; D. = 40 : 5; E. = 49 : 11; F. = 10 : 14; G. = 38 : 0; -ss- A. 23; C. 31; F. 1; G. 1?; wæst- often in D. E. weast often in E.

Sweet O. E. T. 179, Genealogies, Westseaxna, Orientalium Seaxonum, Orientalum Seoxonum.

C. S. 115 uestseaxanorum, orig. of Middlesex in 705.

C. D. 1288 westseaxan.

Ælfrie, Westsexena, S. 2, 132, with v. l. -seax-; but both Mss. ib. also -ea-.

The spelling of A. S. C. shows, for Wessex, (I) ea early, e once 10th c. (II) e, 11th c.; for Sussex, (I) -seax- early and prevailing down to 11th c. (II) -sex- later but Southern: E. keeps -seax-.

For Middlesex, (I) -seax- early; (II) -sex- 11th c.;

For Essex, (I) -Seax-, retained by A. D. E. G. (II) early intrusion of e (904 A.), its diffusion into Kent (B.), and up the Thames valley (C.).

The spelling of the Charters etc. shows -sex- early in and about London (O. E. T. 1, 2, 11). But -seax- in all names was also early diffused, and is early W. S. If we turn to O. E. B., we find in all names -sex- frequent in B. not so frequent in C. O. Ca., a difference partly due to time partly to locality, B. ranging with A. S. C. Mss. B. C., while the others are nearer Ms. D. (C. is of Abingdon; D. of Worcester). T. is very consistent. The frequency of Wess- in B. is also a note of locality.

IRELAND (SCOTLAND).

Hibernia, Hibernia insula, Scotti 24, 7.

Hibernia, uninflected T. C. O. Ca. B.; Hiibernia T. 2;

Ibernia, T.¹ T.⁴ O. B.; Hybernia Ca.; Hiberniam, a. s.

T. O. Ca. B. 242, 12; † Hibis B. 16, 16.

Arch. Hibernia.

A. S. C. Hibernia 891 A. C. D. G.; Ybernian, Pref. D. E. F.;

Hybernia Lat. A. 1074; Hieibernia, 891 B; Irland, 918 A.,

941 D.; 1051, 1052 bis, 1055, 1067 C.; Hirland, 1055 D.;

Yrland 918 B. C. D. G., 891 F., 1048, 1050, 1070 C.,

1087 E.; Yrisc, adj 1055 C.

Orosius, Ibgernia, Igbernia. Ælfrie, Irland, Yrrland, Yras.

The A. S. C. employs Irland from beg. of 10th c. onwards. The Preface is a literary compilation from Bede. O. E. C. commonly adds Scotta ealond, inserting it eleven times independently of the Latin, and only omitting it, (I) when it has already occurred in the context, or the application is clear, (II) in the Capitula, (III) towards the end, where Hibernia stands alone 412, 18: 472, 2; or Hibernia pæt ealond 414, 16; 434, 11; or Hibernia pæt lond T.⁴, where O. Ca. B. have ealond. (There is a curious variation in 110, 1 to be noticed presently). The juxtaposition of

Scottas and Hibernia accords with early A. S. C. 891 prie Scottas comon to Ælfrede cyninge of Hibernia.

This usage incidentally confirms the date of the Archetype.

(II) Scotlond T., Scotland O. Ca. B., Scottland B.

This in 22, 28; 28, 9 = Hibernia in Latin. But in 110, 2 T. O. Ca. have (betweoh Ibernia) Scotlond (see vv. 11.), B. has b. H. Scotta igland, where Lat. has only, Hiberniam. For igland cp. 434, 11; 460, 14, in B. Clearly B. preserves the original reading, and the rare coincidence of T. O. Ca. is accidental. In A. S. C. Scotland always = modern 'Scotland', and occurs first in 933, all Mss. The Lat. Bede has Scottia, which is always translated Scottas. The archetype then and O. E. B. Mss., on the whole, keep to the usage of the 9th c.; T. O. correct in accordance with later usage and fuller geographical accuracy. Ælfric S. 2, 126, 128. uses Scotland in the modern sense, and H. 2, 346 has Yrmland 7 Scotland. ,

Scottus, Scotticus.

Scottas T. C. O. Ca. B. passim; Sceottas T. 2, O. 3, Ca. 6. (B. in 8, 2, correction); Scotas B. 2.

Arch. Scottas.

A. S. C. Scottas passim; Sceottas twice A. G. 937.

Orosius and Ælfric, Scottas.

O. E. B. uses the name indifferently for dwellers in Ireland and settlers in Scotland from Ireland.

In A. S. C. up to the end of the 9th c. it means dwellers in Ireland, after that in Scotland. e. g. 565, 891 A. G. = "Irish", 903, 924, 926 sqq. = "Scotch"; cp. also 716, 729, where Hii is mentioned, with corresponding passage in Bede V, 23.

In Orosius, Peohtas 7 Scottas 270, 12 has no support in the original Latin or Bede (E. or Lat.). Ælfric joins Yrum 7 Scottum, H. 2, 346; cp. S. 2, 132. Other passages seem doubtful, H. 2, 148, S. 1, 168.

THE IRISH (people and language).

(I) Scottus.

Scyttisc adj. T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Scyttysces, O. Ca. B.

(II) sermo Scotticus, lingua Scottorum.

Scyttisc subst., T. O. Ca. B.

Scyttysc, O. Ca.

A. S. C. Scittisc, 937 A. G. = Scyttisc, B. C. D.

Scottysc, D. pref. = Scyttisc, E. F.; as adj.

Ælfric, Scyttisc = "Irish", H. 2, 332; = "Irish language"
S. 2, 130.

THE PICTS.

Picti.

Peohtas, T. C. O. Ca. B. = Arch. . . Pehtas T⁵ C. O. Ca.

Pyhtas, O. 2, Ca. 1; Peahte adj. Ca. 28, 7. Frequency
of eo: e in T.¹ = 11 : 0, in T⁵ = 1 : 1, in C. = 2 : 6, in
O = 5 : 10, in Ca. = 19 : 12, in B = 33 : 0.

A. S. C. Peohtas, Pehtas, Pihtas, Pyhtas, Piohtas. Orosius
Peohtas = Ælfric and Widsith.

The form Peohtas continues from the first down to 875, in which year the name last occurs, in Mss A. B. C. G. of A. S. C. Piohtas only once in [A] 449, where E. has Peohtas (sole ex.); Pehtas three times in D. Intr. 710, 875; also once in E. 875; Pihtas D. Intr., 699. Elsewhere in E, Pyhtas, which is the form in F. Clearly Peohtas is the earliest and most general form. The others can only be regarded as literary variations. By the 10th c. the name had passed out of practical life.

In O. E. B. Mss T. B. are consistent. Ca. is arbitrary, putting eo for O.'s y in 358, 3, e in 358, 18, but for e of O. in 152, 14, 244, 19, 460, 15 writing eo. The same uncertainty appears in the text of O. 152, 14, where a letter has been erased before h, and the stroke of e prolonged across the erasure.

MAN.

Meuaniae pl.

Monige T. O. Ca. = Arch. Manige B.

A. S. C. 1000 Monige C. D. Mænige E.

L. Bede describes these islands, (a) as lying "inter Hiberniam et Britanniam", 11, 5. (b) with the larger lying to the south more fertile, i. e. Anglesey, 11, 9. O. E. B. omits the latter passage. For a discussion of 110, 2 see above under Scotland.

ORKNEYS etc.

Orcades insulae.

Orcades þa ealand Ca. B. = Arch.

A. S. C. 47 Orcadus þa ealand A., orch- G.; Orcadius B. C.; þæt egeland of Orcanie F. Orosius, Orcadus þæt igland. The spelling of O. E. B. is therefore independent of A. S. and of Orosius, and non-Alfredian.

LOCALITIES IN SCOTLAND.

Hii, Hiienses.

Hii T. C. O. Ca. B. = Arch. Hi T. 1, O. 1, B. 2.

Iona.

A. S. C. Hii A. B. C.; I i [A]. D. E. F.; I e D. E. F.; G. omits, 565; or blunders, 716.

Hiienses.

Hiisetena Ca. 472, 26 hi syð þan B i. e. Hiisetan.

The name, very generally written Híí (A. S. C. and O. E. B.) is a stumbling block to scribes in B of Bede, where it is written wrongly 472, 26, is omitted 224, 1; 470, 27, and replaced by Hibernia 204, 11.

Aebbercurnig.

Æbbercurnig, O. Ca. = Arch. Æbbercurni T.

Ebbercurnig B.

Abercorn.

Coludi urbs, Coludana urbs.

Coludes(burg), T. 1, O 2, Ca. 3, B. 1 = Arch. Coludis
T. 1. Colundes B. 2.

Coldingham.

A. S. C. Coludes burh, 679 E. F.

in Cuneningum.

in Cununingum T. O. Ca. (but in O first two vowels on
erasure); Cunigum B.

Cunningham.

Degsastan, id est Degsa lapis.

Degsastan O.Ca. B. = Arch.

Dawston (or *Dalston* near Carlisle).

A. S. C. Dægstan [A]; Dægsanstan E.; Egesanstane B. C. G.

Dalreudini.

Dalreadingas Ca. = Arch. Delreadingas B.

A. S. C. Dælreodi E. F. Dalreodi D. Dælreoda [A],
Deolreda E.

A. S. C. 603 [A.], E. combines Dægstan and Dælreda. The
form in B. C. G. (and originally in A.), are assimilations
to Egsanford Egsaford (Oxon), Egsanmor (Worc.), and
Egesawydu (Suss.): see C. D. Index. The notice in 603
[A.], E. is not from Bede 1, 34. O. E. B. Del — (Ms B)
may be = Dæl — (A. S. C.). Dalrieda was a district in
Antrim, Ireland.

Candida Casa.

æt Hwitan ærne C. B. = Arch. -earne Ca.

Whiterne.

A. S. C. Hwiterne [A]. D. E. F.

Hwituerne D. Witerne E.

Ca.'s reading Earne is assimilation to Earn(e) leah, Warwick,
Hants etc. (C. D.); cp. Earnes beame in C. D. 657 = Earle
L. C. p. 209, Kent.

Mailros.

Mailros T³ 1, T⁵ 2, C. 1, O. 4, Ca. 2, B. 3;

Mailras C. 1, Ca. 1; Mægilros T³ 1; Maillor B. 1.

Melrose.

Ælfric, Magilros H. 2, 348.

CUMBERLAND.

Lugubalia, Lat. and Eng., once.

Carlisle.

A. S. C. Cardeol, 1092. E.

C. S. 66, Lugubalia.

Baeda, vita Cuthb. c. 8; Lugubaliā quae a populis
Anglorum corrupte Luel vocatur.

Cumberland was of course foreign ground to the O. E. B.
translator; see A. S. C. 945, 1000.

Dacore.

Docore T. C. O. Ca. B. once = Arch. *R. Dacre.*

Vowels assimilated.

Deruuentio, Dor- I.

Deorwentan g. s. T. Ca. Deorwenan O. with t interlined.

B. omits.

R. Derwent.

B. errs again in Yorks., where O is correct.

LANCASHIRE?

Maserfelth.

Maserfeld T. O. Ca. = Arch. Mæresfeld B. "*Merser-
feld* near Ribchester Lane".

A. S. C. 641 E. on Maserfeld.

Ælfric, Maserfelda S. 2, 134.

The uncertainty as to the locality is well known. Many
prefer the localisation near Oswestry. The ordnance map
gives near Oswestry: (1) Oswald's well, W. of town; (2) S. E.
of town Maes -y- clawdd [Maes = spacious; clawdd = dike

Pugh, Welsh Dict.]; (3) N. of town, Maerdy; (4) St. Martin's moor S. W. of St. Martin's. Baines Hist. of Lancashire III p. 616 sqq. gives the local name as Mackerfield, or Macerfield. In Winwick church there is an old inscription, speaking of Oswald's death at Marcelde: see other variations in Baines l. c. Dr. Ingram identifies the name with Mirfield (W. Riding). A. S. C. E. favours a southern position: Penda sudhymbrum on Maserfeld. Ms. B. of Bede assimilates to Meresbyrig C. D. 1102, 1145, N. W. Hants, and Merescrundel C. D. 1172, Berks. See further Dugdale Monast. Anglic. 1, 38, ed. 1655; and Camden Brit. who favour Oswestry (Oswioes treow).

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Tuidi g. s.

in 360, 29. T³ has Tuidon; B. Tide; O. Tides with w interlined; Ca. Tweode; C. Twides; in 424, 11 T⁵ Tuede; B. Twyde; O. T..de with i erased and wi interlined; Ca. Tweode.

Arch. Tuide.

R. Tweed.

No scribe was familiar with the locality.

Lindisfarnensis, also with insula, ecclesia;

Lindisfarnensium g. p., also with insula.

Lindisfaronensis ecclesia.

Probable archetype in O. E. B. Lindisfarena, and Lindisfaron, both with ea.

Holy Isle.

VARIATIONS.

		T. ¹	O.	Ca.	B.	C.
1	Lindesfarena	4 + T. ³ 4	12	16	1	—
2	Lindesfarona	1 + T. ³ 2	—	1	13	2
3	Lindisfarena	2	1	1	—	—
4	Lindisfarona	1	—	—	2	—
5	Lindesfearena	1	—	1	—	1

		T. ¹ . . .	O.	Ca.	B.	C.	
6	Lindesfearona	T. ⁴ 1	3	1	—	4	
7	Lindespharona	—	—	—	1	—	
8	Lindisfearona	T. ² 1	—	—	—	—	
9	Lindessarona	—	—	—	1	—	
10	Lindesfarono	—	1	—	—	—	
11	Lindesfarene	—	—	—	2	—	4, 31; 188, 24
12	Lindesfarone	—	—	—	1	—	
13 ss farona	—	—	—	—	1	
14	Lindesfarenensis	—	1	1	—	—	204, 5
15	Lindesfear . . .	—	—	—	—	1	

[I include here 4 exx. belonging to Lindsey which never have ea, see s. v.]

ea always follows except (I) æ T³ 360, 21, 31, B. 272, 21; (II) eae T¹ 188, 24; 384, 14; (III) ealonde 14, 5 Ca. B (la); 204, 5, O. Ca. (la); (IV) L. alone 4, 31 Ca. B.

A. S. C. Lindisfarna 803 D. E. (alone); Lindisfarna ee D. E. Lindisfarena ee E. F. Lindisfarana ee F.

Ælfric, Lindisfarnea g. p.

Lindisfarneiscere g. s.

Lindisfarnensiscere g. s.

L. Bede uses Lindisfarorum g. p. for the people of Lindissi in Lincolnsh., and reserves Lindisfarnensis for Lindisfarne. But the note to the Lindisfarne Gospels Cott. Nero D IV 10th c. has Lindisfearnensis æcclesiae, and also Lindisfearneo londinga. C. S. 631 = ed. Skeat. p. 188.

O. E. B. almost invariably adds ea for the island. The sole ex. of Lindisfarenensis (O. Ca.) occurs in the duplicate version p. 204. There is a confusion of localities in B. C. Nos. 9, 13. There was no familiarity with the place in the case of any scribe.

Farne 8 times.

Farne T., C., O. 2, Ca. 1, B. 5 = Arch.

Farene O. 6, Ca. 6. B. 3.

Fagene Ca. 1.

(Not in A. S. C.) *Farne.*

Ælfric, *Farne.*

Ca's Fagene recalls Faganflor C. S. 607 (Heming);
Faganstan C. D. 627 (H); 1366 (Worc.).

Urbs... a regina... Bebba cognominatur (III, 6; III, 16).

Bebbanburg etc. T. C. O. Ca. B = Arch.

Bamborough.

A. S. C. Bebbanburh etc. C. D. E. F.

Ælfric, Bebbanbyrig.

The name is only indicated, as above, in L. Bede. The translator knew the place and gave the full name. The town was built in 547, and enclosed, ærost mid hegge 7 pær æfter mid wealle. The wall made the place into a "burh"; see A. S. C. 547 E.

Gleni.

Glene B. = Arch. Gien T. Clæne O. Ca.

R. Glen.

The error of T. is due to his reading a short l as i. O. Ca. assimilate to a wellknown word. Clænan, clenán- are found in C. D. 535, 597. Hants; cp. 1168, 1199 Herts; 1244 Somerset; clænan ford is in association with a stream 535, 597.

ad Gefrin; Gebrin I; Gefrin II with b interlined.

æt Gefrin T. Ca. = Arch. æt Gefrium B. æt Greuin

O. on erasure.

Yeverin.

The word in O has been subject to erasure and much disfigured, probably since Ca.'s time, due to a wish for assimilation to grefa, grafa, a word used in Charters, cp C. S. 1319; græfe = spelunca Mt. 21, 13 (L). B. tries to give a. d. p. ending.

Maelmin.

Maelmen C. O. = Arch. Maelmen T. Melmen B.

Elmen Ca.

Milfield Hill (or *Melfield*)?

In O. the final en has been by rough erasure changed to in; the writer perhaps looked at the Latin. Ca.'s Elmen approximates Elmesetene C. D. 1366, Worc. ep. Elmanstede 1027 Kent. The identification with Milfield (Camden) is doubtful.

Alne.

Alne B. = Arch. † Alnes T., Ealne C., Eallne O. Ca.

R. *Alne*.

C. S. 55 reproducing L. Bede: circa fluvium Alne in loco qui dicitur æt tuiford. The Warwick R. Alne near Evesham had also Twyforde C. D. 1368. Alnes T. is due to the following streame. The break in Ealne must have been in the common original of C. O. Ca.

Tuifyrdi.

æt Twyfyrd T. O. Ca. B.; æt Twifyrde. C. = Arch. *Twyford*.

The name occurs repeatedly in Charters C. S. 125. C. D. 314 Hants etc.

Tino abl. 388, 5; Tini g. 398, 17; Tinam acc. 468, 15.

Tine C. O. Ca. B.; Tiine T.², Tune T.⁴.

Tyne O. Ca. Tinan d. s. Ca. 468, 15 = † Icenan B. (In all 3 exx).

Arch. Tine, Tina.

A. S. C. Tinan d. s. A. B. D. E.; Tinam C.; to Tine 1079 E.

Tine in O. E. B. is g. s. 398, 17; n. s. 388, 5, where B. omits the word. The variations indicate want of familiarity. B.'s error Icenan is significant This is the R. Itchen flowing by Winchester, where stood the famous monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, mentioned in C. D. 1033, 1055. The context speaks of a monastery of P. and P. on the Tyne. Hence the substitution of the familiar association. This error

brings B. into connection with Hants, a connection exemplified later under Meon and Selsey.

ad Murum.

æt Walle T. O. Ca. æt Wealle B.

B. gives the Southern broken form. Along the line of the Roman wall, there are several names involving 'wall'. This place lay 12 Roman miles from the 'eastern sea', therefore a little beyond Newcastle. C. D. 603, 608, 626 (Hants) have weal- as first part of compounds.

Hagustaldensis ecclesia (always) Lat.

Eng. always with ea (æ T.³, T.⁴), 10 exx.

Hagostaldes Ca. 334, 28. Agostaldes T.¹ 1.

Heagostaldes T.⁴ 1; O. 2; Ca. 1; Eagostaldes T.¹ 1;

Heagostealdes T.¹ 2; C. 5; O. 7; Ca. 9; T.² 2;

Hægestealdes B. 6; Hegestealdes B. 1;

Hægstealdes T.³ 1; B. 1; Hægsteald B. 1.

Arch. Hagostaldes ea.

Hexham, cp. A. S. C. 685.

A. S. C. 17 exx. in 6 years 13 with ea, ee; 1 with ham; 3 without addition. (I) Hagustaldes ea, ee. D. E. F.; (II) Hagustaldes ham E. 685; (III) Hagustald ee E.; (IV) Agustald d. s. E.; (V) Hagusteald g. s. E.; (VI) Hagestald' ee F.; (VII) Hagestaldes g. s. D.; (VIII) Hagstaldes ee D; (IX) Hagstald' ee F.

Here are 3 stems hagu-, hæge-, hæg-, cf. O. H. G. haga-, hegi, hag; Icel. haga-, hagi, hag-. In O. E. T. we find hagu, haegu, hegu, hea[go], hag, haga (Index p. 471). In Northumbrian we have further he(g)hstald = 'bachelor'. The form heago- confined to T. is Mercian (Corpus). The variations partly correspond to those of hagostald etc. "bachelor", which does not seem to be current in the South.

Denises burna.

Denises burna T. = Arch. Denisses b. O. Ca.

Denisces b. B.

Dilston near Hexham?

The place was near Hexham (III, 1, 2). B.'s error is an assimilation to Denisc, "Danish".

Hefenfelth, Hefenfeld I.

Heofonfeld T. O. Ca. = Arch. Heofonfl. d. B. with
o erased and e interlined above f.

(near *Hexham*).

Ælfric, Heofonfeld.

B. originally wrote heofonflod, a word found 236, 17. Hebinga is a local name in O. H. G. Graff IV. 828. Heveningham is a Suffolk village.

in Gyruum.

on Gyrwum O. C. Ca. B.

Arch. in Gyrwum.

Jarrow.

See further on 'Gyrwas' in Northampton.

DURHAM.

ad Caprae Caput.

æt Rægeheafde T. B.; æt Hregeheafde Ca.

eregeheafde O. with t interlined above r.

Gateshead.

The identification with Gateshead is strengthened by such Glosses as, ra vel gæt, capra (Bouterwek); compare also gate hlinces heafod C. S. 1030 with rahline C. S. 246 (1030 Wilts, 246 Wore); cp. also heregeres heafod C. D. 685 near Bildeston Suffolk.

(I) Uiuri (II) (ad) ostium Uiuri fluminis.

(I) Wiire T. Wire O. Ca. B.

(II) æt Wira muðan T. O. Ca. B.

æt Wira muðon C. æt Wire muðan C. Ca.

æt Wire muðum B.

R. Wear, Wearmouth.

Sweet O. E. T. p. 147, 148 *Uiuraemuda*, *Uiuræmoda*.
These show the name in use in Bede's lifetime.

Pægnalæch, *Pegnalech* I.

Pæginalæh T. = Arch. *Peginalæh* O.

Weginalæh Ca. *Pægmaleah* B.

Finchale, Durham? *Whalley*, Yorksh.?

A. S. C. Wagele 664 E. *Pincanhealh* 788 E. F. *Wincanhealh* D.

B.'s reading is due to confusion of *gin* and *gm*. Such forms as *Pægingaburne* C. D. 257 support *Pægin-*, which however is a regular variation. But Ca.'s variation is curiously in accord with A. S. C. 664. Smith identifies the place with *Pincanheale* A. S. C. 788, and *Finchale* two miles from Durham. *Vegnalech* is cited by Leland *Bed. Collect.* II, 143, ed. 1774, who conjectures that it is *Whalley* on the borders of Yorks. Lanc. and Chesh. (Earle A. S. C. p. 286). In *Sim. Dunelen*. *Whalley* is written *Walaleage* (*Bredae* H. E. ed. Mayor p. 281). The confusion of P. and W. is intelligible in Saxon Mss., and repeats itself in A. S. C. 788 D. *Wincanhealh*, (The reverse error is in D. 731. *Pæntan* for *Wæntan*). I am disposed to think that *Finchale* is approximately correct. *Pæginalæh* would yield a modern *Painley*. There is now a *Painshaw* on the *Wear* 5 miles N. E. of *Finchale Abbey*. There is perhaps a confusion, or conflation due to close neighbourhood, and the further aggravation of an interchange of similarly formed letters. T. preserves the Anglian *læh*. *Waegelas* is a name in *Somersetshire* C. D. 774. (*Kemble Saxons in England*. App. vol I).

Heruteu. *Herutei* II. *Heruteig* II. altered by a later hand to *Heortesig*.

Heorotea T. C. O. B. = Arch. *Heortea* O. Ca.

Hartlepool.

(I) In O. E. T. Index {we find *herut*, *heorut*, *heorot*, *heorat*, *heoret*; (II) The forms *Heorot* and *Heort* are found, the first in A. S. C. 673 A., 913 A. G.; in *Charters* (contemp.) C. S. 741, A. D. 934, Kent; 792, A. D. 944, N. Hampton;

the second in A. S. C. 673 G. and always in B. C. D. E. F.; in Charters (contemp.) C. S. 965 A. D. 956, Oxon; C. D. 736, A. D. 1021, N. Hampton (bounds as in C. S. 792). The abbreviation Heort begins to be current in the latter half of 10th c., and is general in 11th c. Judging from the C. D. Index we should say it was Heming's spelling; see 90, 118, 120, 262, 498, 509, 554, 627. The spelling in Beowulf is n. a. Heorot, Heort, (once). gen. -otes, dat. -ote, -ute (once), Hiorte (once 2nd scribe). In C. D. 1069 = C. S. 565, from Cod. Win. stands hiorotlege. The charter is a forgery (K.) relating to the 9th c. and using an archaic form. T. C. B. have therefore an older form than O. Ca. The town of Hartlepool lies on a small peninsula north of the estuary of the Tees, with a safe harbour. The ending ea, in every way appropriate, seems due to the land formation.

YORKSHIRE.

Streanæs, Streanes, Strenæs, halch, halc M.

Streanes, Strenes, halh, halch I.

Streones, Streonaes, Streunaes halch II.

in Streanæs hale M., in Streanes hale I.

Streones halh O. Ca = Arch.

Streones healh T. C. O. Ca. C.

Strines halg T.

d. s. æt Streones heale T. O. Ca. B.

Whitby.

A. S. C. on Streones heale A. E. F. G.

Bede explains the name as meaning sinus fari. Is this a guess? First as to streones, strines,

- (I) Streones halh, Streon halh occur in the description of bounds in the Severn basin (C. D. below).
- (II) 'Strine' is now in Salop a local word for a 'watercourse' (Halliwell).
- (III) There is now a R. Strine in the Severn basin, just by Newport, Salop.
- (IV) Strensall is now a Yorksh. local name on the Fosse Navigation about 6 miles N. of York.

(V) Strensham is now a place on the Avon about 5 miles N. of Tewkesbury.

The name then is always in association with a stream. If *fari* be from *farus*, *pharus* "a lighthouse", it will not give a suitable sense.

Secondly, what is *halch*, *halc*, *halh*. etc.? The word occurs repeatedly in charters. Kemble C. D III p. xxix explains it as "hall, probably originally a stone building", and so Leo (*Anglo Saxon names of Places Engl. Trans.* p. 52). Three words seem here confounded (1) *ealh*, Gothic *alhs*, Lat. *arx*; (2) *heall* "hall"; (3) *halh*, *halg*, *halc* our word, meaning "recess", "nook", "corner", "hollow" — It has a large kindred — *healh*, *healh(stan)*, *heal(stan)*, *hal(stan)*, *healoc*, *hyle*, *hile*, *holh*, *holg*, *hole* etc. *holh* C. P. 219, 3 = *holg* *Leechdoms* = *fossa*, *fovea*; cp. B. Toller. *Hyle* = *anfractus*, which recalls Latin phrase *anfractus sinuosi*. In Chaucer *halke* = corner, hiding place, nook (ed. Skeat 1895, Glossary).

The usage in Charters, C. D.

- I. In descriptions of bounds it is commonly near water 56, 461, 515, 550, 559, 570 (*passim*), 764 (*halsbroc*), 1218.
- II. *risc healh* = "rushbottom" 308, 570; *hreed halh* "osier bottom" 1071; *fearnhealan* "fern hollow" *head halan* "heath bottom". With *hwitan heal* 452, compare *hwitan cumb* 570. For *cyninges healh* "the king's paddock", 204 (see context), compare *battenhale* 559 = *batanhagan*; a "recess" is suitable for an enclosure.
- III. (a) C. D. 515 on *streonhalh*, be *streonhalae* (vol. III p. 464), Worc.
(b) 1358 in *streoneshalh* of *pam hale*, Worc.
Clearly *streoneshalh* = 'river hollow'.

The R. Esk forms a pool within the present town of Whitby.

Deruuentio, *Doruuentio*.

Deorwentan d. s. T. O. Ca. B. *Deorwetan B.*

C. S. 1052. *Deorwentan* (oblique), Yorks.

B. is again in difficulties with the word: see under Cumberland: probably he takes wetan = wætan 'water'.

- (I) d. s. in Læstinga e, in Laesting e I, Lestinga he N. 260, 27 = in Læstinge T. O. Ca. in Glæstinga ea B. (g partly erased).
- (II) n. s. Læstinga eu, Lestinga eu I, Laestinga eu, (once with ig over eu, once with g over u II).
- (III) d. s. in Læstinga æi, in Laestinga ei I, 458, 11.
- (II) and (III) = n. s. Læstinga ea T. O. Ca. Læstinga eow B. 4, 18; Glæstinga ea B, g partly erased, 232, 14; d. s. to Læstinga ea T. O. Ca. Gl., B. with g partly erased 264, 5; on Læstinga ea O. Ca. Glæstinga ea C. Glæstinga igge B., g roughly erased 458, 11. The Latin in III, 28 is not translated, = 246, 11.

Lastingham.

The variations in termination of this word point to a lost word for 'district', further noticed under Lindisse and Surrey, Gothic gawi, O. H. G. gawi, gewi, gouwi, A. S. ge in Elge and other words. It was gradually confounded, through palatalisation and vocalisation of g, with ea, eg, and other forms. In modern spelling *ey* etc. appear indifferently for all. In Bede's time the word was already lost as is shown by his derivation of Ely IV, 19 from insula . . . angularum. Further, (I) L. B. has Beardan eu, where Ms II has ig over eu; Heruteu id est insula cervi, Ms II eig, ei; Peartaneu, -ei out of eu II, ea N.; Selæseu insula vituli marini, -ei I. The substitutions for *u* in other Mss are not invariable. For 'Chertsey', id est ceroti insula M writes cerotaes ei I ceortes ei. (II) ea in L. B. means 'river', Homelea = R. Hamble IV 16; but in Charters we have not only Liminea fluminis O. E. T. Ct. 5, 4 = -aea 7, 2 = ea 19, 2; but Limingae loco 5, 1 = iae 7, 4; cf. 6, 1 juxta Liminae; 7, 3 in liminiaae; 4, 1 terram in tenid quae appellatur westanae; (III) ge, Elge B. H. IV, 19; in C. S. 42 in loco qui dicitur Sturgeh (just before, in Sudaneie); C. S. 289 aet Liminge; C. S. 254 in regione Eastrgena (see under Surrey); 318 to Eastorege; 332 in regione Easterege, Eosterege, on Eosterge

(his), on Easterege, on Eostorege (an Eastreie 12th c. endorsement), 380 terra quae pertinet ad Eastræge; all = "Eastry" in Kent.

B's. error is of another character. He and C. confound the place with Glastonbury, and thus show ignorance of both localities. For Glastonbury A. S. C. writes Glæstinga with byrig etc., never ea, the name is written Glæst-, later Glest-; Glast- 12th c. except in Latin A. Glastingensis 1078. There are many Glastonbury charters, several forgeries, the genuine seem 12th c. copies. The forms are (I) Latin Glastingensis (II) English genuine Glæst-, Glest-, Glast- (III) English forgeries (14th c. copies?); C. S. 109 Glastinga ea, Glastingay, Glastingai; C. S. 142 Glasteie, Glastingeie, Glastingensis, Glastoniensis; C. S. 169 Glastingei, Glastingi. There is then no early authority for ea; but we must allow that though forged, the addition was probably copied from some previous document. Those given by Kemble as genuine in the C. D. which I classify under II, all add burg 577, 590, 593 (= C. S. 1294, 1315, 1174); C. D. 685 (= Earle L. C. p. 364); C. D. 957; B's. Læsdīnga eow recalls the early sđ for st, as dusde V. P., wæsđm etc. C. P. Hatton

Hacanos.

Heacanos T. Ca. B. = Arch. H. acanos O. erasure.

Hackness.

O.'s erasure, later apparently than Ca, may be due to a wish to expel the mutation of a, or to inspection of the Latin. In Charters, C. S. 1080 has Hacanpundfold, Hants.

Stanford.

Stanford O. Ca. C. = Arch.

Stamford Bridge on the Derwent.

The name is common in Charters, in Hants, Berks, Wore etc.

Uetadun.

Weta dun O. Ca. = Arch. Wæta dun B.

Weata dun T.⁴.

Watton, Yorks.

Weata T. is Anglian mutation; cp. Heacanos.

Godmundingaham, -ndi- I, II.

Godmunddingaham T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Goodmanham.

Godmundinges (Godmundes) leah often in Charters; as place of meeting of the concilium C. S. 230; cp. C. D. 1360.

In Silva Derorum.

in Dera wuda T.² Ca. B. = Arch. Deora T.⁴, Deera O.

Dyra Wyda O. Dyra Wuda Ca.

A. S. C. on Dera Wuda 685 E.; Beoforlic 721 D. E. (-fer-), cp. B. H. E. V, 6.

The Charters do not enable as to trace the name Beverley earlier than the reign of Athelstan (925—940); cp. C. S. 644, 645, 646. Consequently O. E. B. naturally reproduces L. B. But the later scribes clearly did not know the disused name; see under Deri above. A. S. C. Ms. D. had of course Northern sources of information at Worcester, and gives the later name. Here E. copies D., but when E. translates Baeda H. E. V, 6 for himself (685), the old name is reproduced.

Sualua, Swalwa I.

d. s. Swalwan T. = Arch. Swealwan O.

Swalewan Ca. Swealewan B.

R. Swale.

The name is found in several Charters; (I) Suuealuue C. S. 341, orig. of 812, Kent; (II) Sualue 353, or. of 815, Kent; (III) Swalwan, 392 of 812, Cod. Win., Hants; (IV) Swealwan 742 of 939, C. W. Hants. (V) Swealewan 756 of 940, 13th c. copy, Wilts; (VI) Swalewan 874 of 950, early 13th c., Wilts; (VII) Swealewan C. D. 737 of 1023, C. W., Hauts.

Glosses in O. E. T. and the V. P. have as common noun *sualuæ*, *swalwa*; for the same Ælfrie Gr. 37, 7; 307, 7; has *swalowe*, *swaluwe*, *swalewe* = *hirundo*. T. has the early

and Midland form; O. early Southern; Ca. late W. S. B. has a local variation (Wilts, Hants.)

in Getlingum.

in Getlingum T. C. = Arch.; inn G. B.; on G. O. Ca.
in Gætlingum T.

Gilling.

Bede places it near Catterick; Gilling is about 7 m. N. W.

Cataractam vicum acc. s. twice; Cataractone vico ab. s. 194, 18.

d. s. cetreht tune T. O. 140, 19; cetereht t. Ca. Cetrih t. B.

d. s. cetreht weorþige T. 194, 18; Cetriht O. Ca. B.

d. s. cetrehtan (no addition) O. Ca. B. 150, 28. T. def. Arch. Cetreht, Cetrehta.

Catterick.

The name in L. B. ends ta, ton; in O. E. B. t, tan. The Arch. departs from Latin. We may assume local knowledge for the translator and T., hardly for O. Ca.; B. fails in Cetrih.

Uilfaresdun, Uilfaresdun I, Uilfæraesdun II.

Willfaresdun T. = Arch. Willfarenes ęa dun B (dots under ęa) Willfæresdun O. Ca.

B. may have thought of Lindisfarena ęa. The variants far, fær are natural. The place. being 10 miles N. W. of Catterick, is probably on the moor above Richmond.

Eburacum, Eboracum, civitas Eburaci, 300, 7; c. Eboraca 460, 10; Eburacensis (-bor-); civitas Eburacensis 192. 27; (I) in Eoforwic T.¹ B. = Eburaci 300, 7; Eoforwicceastre C. O. Ca.; (II) Eoforwicceastre g. d. T.¹ T.⁴ C. O. Ca. B.; (III) Eoferwicceastre d. T.¹ T.³ O. Ca. Proportions of or : er = $\frac{10}{2}$ T. $\frac{0}{1}$ T.³ = $\frac{2}{0}$ T.⁴ = $\frac{14}{3}$ O. = $\frac{16}{4}$ Ca. = $\frac{21}{0}$ B. = $\frac{1}{0}$ C.

Arch. Eoforwicceaster.

A. S. C. (I) Eoforwiceaster early and late; (II) Eoferwiceaster frequent from end of 10th c.; (III) Eoforwic, Eoferwic without ceaster already in B. C. D. E. (IV) Eferwic A. 1070; (V) Heoforwic D. once; (VI) Euorwic, Euerwic F.

Orosius, Eforwiceaster; Ælfric, Eferwic S. 2. 132.

A. S. C. D. shows a marked predilection for Eofor-, which is the only form in 1st hand to 1016, as in A. But G. once admits Eofer- against A; B. is divided; C prefers Eofer- which in E is almost exclusive. Clearly it is a matter of date with some local preference (D. Worc.). Other variants are in F, Euerwic 3, Eferwic 1, Euorwic 1, D once Heoforwic 948.

The occurrence of Eoforwic in T. B. shows that it must have been in their common original. The Latin here is Eboraci alone: a little above in civitate Eburaci. It may also be noted that the letters ea follow immediately. There are no early exx. of the name in charters.

in Hrypum, in Rypum II.

in (on) Hrypum T. T.² C. O. 1. Ca. 1. = Arch. but O. has y on eras of i.; Hripum O. 4. Ca. 4. (æt H. Ca. 384, 8), Hreopum B. 5.

Hrypensis.

g. p. Hrypsetna T. Hrypsættna O. Ca. Hrypsættna C. Hreopsættna B. (all once only).

Ripon and its people.

A. S. C. to Ripum 709 D. E. F. in Hripum 788 D. æt Rypon 948 D.

C. S. 646 Ripon (13th c.), 647 Rippon, late in a riming charter.

O. has Hrípum 384, 8. But the vowel is short (Rippon).

A. S. C. shows that the name was no longer tribal; hence Ca. æt R. Further A. S. C. has Hreopandum, and Hreopedun = Repton. = C. S. 454 (Mercian of 848) æt Hrypadune. Hence perhaps the variations of B. and Ca.

Nidd.

d. s. Nide Ca. Mide B. = *R. Nidd.*

Mydeling is a Berks locality C. S. 1032, 1058. Ca. follows nid "need".

civitas Calcaria quae a gente Anglorum Kælcacaestir appellatur; Helcacestir I Faelcaestir N.

Kalcacester O. Kalcacester Ca. Cealcaceaster B.

Kaelceaster C. Kwelcaceaster T.

Arch. Kaelcaceaster.

The variations in Latin show that even in the 8th century there was a difficulty as to this lost town, which some identify with Healaugh near Tadcaster. The reading of I gives a lead perhaps. Further there is a difficulty about the initial K, which is unusual, though initially found in words in the Rushworth Ms. Probably Tadcaster early absorbed the Roman town; (cp. Taddenes scylf A. S. C. 947. D), and even Bede may not have been correct. The Arch. probably had Kaelc- as in C.; whence by mistaking open a for u T. wrote Kwelc-. With the form in O. Ca. compare Calcestanes mor C. D. 764; Calcbrac 291; both about 10 miles from Worcester. But in Sussex, Berks, Oxford etc., Cealc. prevails as in B.

Uinuaed. Uinued I. II.

d. s. Winwede T. B. Winwæde O. Ca. Wunwæde C.

A. S. C. Winwidfelda 654 E. F. cf. Winburne.

R Aire, near Leeds. cp. II, 14; III, 24. The localities near are Elmete, now Elmet, Yorks., Loidis, now Leeds, in Campodono, now implied in Doncaster. The context of II, 14 fixes the localities in Deira.

Loidis.

Loidis T. 2 C. 1. In 140, 25 Loides hatte B. Loïd is haten O. loid, is haten Ca. (comma, to divide). In 238, 8 leod is hatte B. (sic). Loidis hatte O. (te on eras). Loidis hatte Ca. C. is defective in 140, 25.

Leeds.

A. S. C. Loðene 1091 E.? Here Thorpe renders 'district of Leeds' because Flor. has in provincia Loidis; Earle A. S. C. p. 355 translates 'Lothian'. I note that E. 1124 has Lepecæstrescire, (Leicester) = Lægreceasterscire 1088; Wiðreceasterscir 1088 = Wigraceaster- (Worc.).

Clearly B. did not know the place, nor did O. Ca.

In Campo Dono.

in Dona felda T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

The place is near Leeds (II, 14), and Hæðfeld (II, 20), which latter is identified with Hatfield near Doncaster. L. B. Dono is g. p., and correctly rendered by Dona felda. For o = a in g. p. see Introduction Pt. I. The O. E. B. translator then knew the place.

Haethfelth, Haethfeld I.

d. s. Hæðfelda T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Hatfield near Doncaster.

The name occurs in several parts of England Herts, Wilts etc. C. D. Index.

WEST MERCIA.

(The Northern boundary runs from the Ribble to the Humber).

Legacaestir, (-ter I. II).

d. s. Legaceastre T. O. Ca. = Arch. Lige- Ca. 40, 313.

Leige- B. 102, 29; Leg- B. 40, 31.

A. S. C. Legaceaster A. G. Legceaster B. C. E. D. (Læg) Ligeceaster D. Ligceaster B. Liegeceaster C. Leiceastre D. = Lægeceastre E. = Legerceastre F. 972.

Chester.

(I) For 'Leicester' A. S. C. has always Legra- Leger- etc. with r, except once Leð- 1124 E. noticed above. So C. S. 312, or. of 803, Legorensis. All other charters are late copies and omit r.

- (II) 'Chester' also appears in A. S. C. as Ceaster simply (E). Latin A also has Cestrensis 1077. (But the name Ceaster is also applied to York E. 685).
- (III) The names became confused, see A. S. C. F. 972 above. By the 12th c. 'Chester' had become an established appellation. Leige- (O. E. B. B.) is suspiciously like Liege- (A. S. C. C.), but is a more legitimate development.

Bancora burg M. first hand, Bancorna- M. 2nd hand, Boncornia II., with a over first o.

a. s. Bonera byrig T. Baancorona. O. Ca. Bancorona B. Arch. Bancorona b. = *Bangor* Flint.

When we compare T.'s variation with the Latin, it becomes clear that he has a Midland, and probably local form. The place is on the Dee about 12 m. S. of Chester, and therefore on the Mercian frontier.

Sabrina.

be westan Sæferne C. Ca. = Arch. Sæuern B.

R. *Severn*.

A. S. C. Sæfern A. B. C. D. E. G. Sæfyrn B. Sefern D.

The name occurs often in A. S. C., declined and undeclined, up to 1052, e. g. 893 æt Sæferne etc., be westan Sæfern. It is found in 24 charters. Of these the earliest copies seem Heming's (13 chh). Heming introduces u first in C. S. 1087 ($u : f = \frac{3}{0}$), 1088 ($u : f = \frac{1}{2}$), 1139 ($u : f = \frac{1}{1}$), of dates 962, 962, 961—70; but in 1242 of 969 only f once. In all earlier Charters H. has f. As H. belongs to the end of the 11th cent. we cannot say positively that Sæuern is older. I find Sæu- (besides H.) only in C. D. 461 vol. III p 450, and C. D. 654 (14th c. copy). The question is of course a much wider one, and will come up again under Rochester. B. has more than a dozen examples of u for f in proper and common nouns, see 2, 13; 8, 33 etc. For an occasional example in O. see the late correction of Gefrin. The charters have sporadic examples in P. N. e. g. C. S.

748 *peuesige*; several instances of *auene* = *Avon*. Very instructive are the originals and endorsements in C. S. 335, 341, 348, 353. (*grafon*, *grauen* etc.) Examples increase towards the beginning of the 11th century, but the prevalence of *u* is a mark of still later origin. Cp. *exx.* of spelling under *Eoforwic* etc.

L. Briudun.

Breodun C. Ca. B. = Arch.

Bredon.

A. S. C. Breodun 731 D. = C. S. 234 etc. (234 endorsed Breo-, Brea-).

Huiccii.

g. p. Hwicna T. O. Ca. (B. Myrcna).

Hwicca T. B. Ca. 336, 4. Hwiccia O., but *h* is interlinear.

Huicna C.

d. p. Hwiccum T. Hwicceum C. Hwyccum O. Ca. Hwylecum B.

Arch. Hwicc-, Hwicci-.

A. S. C. 800, Hwiccium A. Hwiccum B. C. D. E. G.

C. S. 202, 203, orig. of A. D. 767, 770 Hwiccii (Lat.) etc.

The name is frequent in early Latin Charters, becoming often in later copies *Wiccii*, e. g. C. S. 116, 134 (*uiccium* *emptorium*). It seems preserved in *Hwiccewudu* C. S. 432 of A. D. 841 (*Heming*), perhaps too in *Wychwood Forest* 7 m. W. of *Woodstock*, Oxon. In later Charters the name seems disused. B. is evidently at fault, and cannot have known the district which stretches obliquely from Gloucester into the Midlands N. E. But T. O. Ca. C. know it, and vary allowably, as evidence shows. The correction in O. 336, 4 may be set down to a local hand. The form *-ci-* is the older; Ca. with O. before him writes *ca* for *cia*. For other *exx.* in *chh.* see C. S. 130, 1135 (13th c.).

STAFFORD.

Lyccidfelth, *Liccidfeld* I, *Licidfelth* II.

Lyccitfeldensis M., *Liccit-* I, in V, 23.

Licedfeld T. = Arch. Licetfeld Ca.; Licetfeld O. B.
Licitfeld Ca. † Wicetfeld C. 478, 7.

Lichfield.

A. S. C., Licetfeld A. C. D. E. F. G.; Licedfeld B. once.
Licedfeld C. D. 1053; Licifeldensis A. 1073.
Charters, C. S. 310, orig. of 803, Liccidfeldensis (text)
Licedfeldensis (text); 312 orig. of 803 Licced- (sign. word
not in text). Liccet- (11th c. copy). C. D. 1303, about
1050, æt Licitfelda (12th c. copy).

The two charters 310, 312 were drawn up in the same
council. Licced- in the bishop's signature may be taken as
locally preferred, and it appears once in 310. The forms
Licet-, Licit- appear as Southern, early and late (A. S. C.
and Chh.). But A. S. C. B. had Mercian documents in his
hands, and differs from the other Mss. Licif- in Text. Roff.
C. S. 354, 441. Licisf- endorsed on 310 is in a 12th c. hand.
T. then represents most faithfully the local spelling of the
10th century. The error of C. is perhaps partly alliterative
due to Aldwine, perhaps to Wintanceastre above, or con-
fusion with Huicna. In any case it betrays want of local
familiarity.

NORTHAMPTON.

in Undalum, in provincia Undalum.
in Undalum O. Ca. B., on Undalana mægðe Ca. B., but
in Ca. na is interlinear.
Arch. Undalum, Undalana.

Oundle.

A. S. C. in Undalum D. E. F., on Undelan D. 957, Undela
acc. E.
C. S. 22 villam de Undale; 1128 Undelum (nom.); 1129 to
Undelan; 1130 æt Undelum; 1258, 1280 villam Undale.

L. B. has Undalum in apposition. But O. E. B. gives
English form and order. The charters 22, 1258, 1280 are
late forgeries, but 1128—30 are three genuine documents
(in later copies) of the end of the 10th c. As they agree
with A. S. C. D. (first hand) in the form Undelan, this must

be taken as locally correct in the end of the 10th c. This fact excludes the scribes of O. E. B. from the district. (C. T. are defective here.)

Gyruii, Australes Gyruii (Gyruii I, II).

g. p. Gyrwa T. O. B. = Arch., Gyrwan Ca. Sudgyrwa T. O. Ca. B.

C. S. 297 Nordgyrwa, Sudgyrwa (10th — 11th c.), a name preserved in Yarwell near Peterborough. L. B. writes in provincia G. III 20; IV, 6; and retains in Gyruum for Jarrow. O. E. B. follows this rule. But L. B. has Australes G. to avoid ambiguity, and O. E. B. follows again. Now III, 20 is only found in the version of T. B. and was not in the Archetype; in III, 20 the translation has of Gyrwa mægðe (220, 4), while IV, 6 = 280, 26 has in Gyrwa londe. Still III, 20 speaks of a man, IV, 6 of a place; see further under Cnoferesburg and Introduction to vol. I p. XXIV sq.

Medeshamstedi, -stede I.

n. s. Medeshamstede O. B. = Arch., -styde Ca. æt Medeshamstede T.

A. S. C. Medeshamstede E.; Burh. C. D. E.

C. S. Medeshamstede passim: but 196 Medy[s] hæmstede T. R.

The charters are mostly late copies. Highly important is C. S. 1128, especially when compared with A. S. C. E. 963 E. First as to the form -styde. This is an early and Anglian form, recurring later; see Cook's and Bouterwek's Glossaries and B. T., also list of compounds in Grein s. v. — The charters give over 150 exx. of localities with -stede suffixed, some, however, may be common nouns, as hamstede. Only 6 charters yield instances of styde (1) contemporary C. D. 287, 317 (= C. S. 506, 558) of 9th cent. given in O. E. T. C. D. 657 = Earle L. C. p. 209 A. D. 987. All three refer to same district on the borders of Surrey and Kent in and around Oxted (Acustyde), about 20 miles from London Bridge. In these three $y : e = \frac{4}{o}, \frac{3}{i}, \frac{3}{i}$. Elsewhere in Kent only stede C. S. 199; 335; 330; 741. Another C. D. 685, 12th c. copy, $y : e = \frac{2}{3}$ Essex. C. D. 853, also 12th c. copy,

has in Latin Ringstede, in English Ringstyde, and two *exx.* of styde as common noun. Lastly a sixth C. D. 202 = C. S. 349 (Heming), dated 814, is headed *de Dunhamstyde*, and the text repeats the form. For the same locality Heming has C. D. 680 (after A. D. 972), *dúnhæmstédes*. The place is 5 m. N. E. of Worcester. The form then is local in Worcester, but not at Peterborough. T.'s variation *æt M.* is very significant. O. Ca. B. have *þætte* (*þe* Ca.) *gecweden* is *Medeshamstede*. But in T. *æt M.* is *cweden*. The Latin runs: *quod dicitur M.* T.'s order is very usual, when a name is inserted parenthetically without a relative; cp. 58, 13. The alteration is therefore intentional. I have however found no other *ex.* of *æt M.* But a parallel is found in the reading of B. 448, 17 *æt Seolesigge*, which, it will be shown, is important and significant of local knowledge. The place was destroyed by the Danes in 870, and restored about 964 (A. S. C. E. 963). The first abbot after the restoration was Aldulf, who endowed it richly (Ib. cp. C. S. 1128). He became bishop of York and Worcester in 992, and was succeeded by Kenulf in the abbacy (A. S. C. E. 992). Kenulf changed the name to *Burh* (A. S. C. E. 963). There was an estate with villages named *Medeshamstede* (C. S. 1128). The term *æt M.* is then perfectly correct, and implies local knowledge. But the change would be most appropriate, while there remained nothing but "old walls and wild woods" (A. S. C. l. c.). The monastery rose rapidly in prosperity. The name *Burh* appears in A. S. C. C. D. E. 992, so that it was at once accepted; the earlier name *M.* is, in the A. S. C., only found in Ms. E. (Peterborough). The outer leaves of Ms. T., as at present bound, contain entries relating to the Benedictine Abbey of Thorney seven miles E. N. E. of Peterborough. The whole district abounded in monastic establishments, in one of which T. may have been written. Besides this the writer's local knowledge attaches him most clearly to North Mercia. He is most accurate in his spelling of Yorkshire names.

NOTTINGHAM.

Treenta II, 16; Treanta III, 24; IV, 21.

d. s. Treontan T. C. B. = Arch. Tr.ntan O. with
o erased, twice; Trenton O. with o interlined once.

Trentan Ca. twice, Trenton once. Treotan B. once.

R. Trent.

A. S. C. Treontan A. G. 924, Trentan C. D. E. 1013.

The correctness of Treont- is vouched for by the earlier Treant- (see above remarks on nasal a), and by A. S. C. A. G. Later comes in the spelling Trent-, early 11th c., which continues in E. 679, 1013, 1068. There are many streams with the name. C. D. vol. III p. 395—6 given Trentan in connection with Avon and Evesham, but there is some doubt as to these bounds (C. S. 511 note). Ca's termination -on is a variation repeated by him in Wintonceaster. T. then is locally correct. B. blunders. O. wavers and has been corrected. Ca has a southern, later, and probably a form local in Worcestershire.

Tunna caestir.

n. s. Tunnanceaster T. B. = Arch. Tunnancester O.
Tunnanceastre Ca.

The town was probably not far from the R. Trent (IV, 21, 22). But it was certainly not Doncaster, for Don(a)- is found early and late: see under Campo Dono and C. D. 1298, A. D. 1002 æt Donecestre. Tun- is a frequent prefix in charters and modern names. The form -cester in O recurs in Calcacester: and in T. Grantacester. The n. s. -ceastre is found in O. Ca. Grantaceastre. An examination of this termination -ceaster etc. in A. S. C. gives these results. (I) ceaster prevails: cea, ce, give respectively 346, and 51 instances in collective Mss; cæ 12 cie 7, cia 1, cye 1 in [A]. A has e twice early, Andredescester, Exancester 491, 894 (cp. V. P. in O. E. T.), once in [A]; but e is very rare till the 11th c. Ms B. has no example of e; Ms D. only one, 1016 Gleawcestre-scire in the first hand, but then 20 in later hands, D.

also writes -æ- 6 times in 1st hand, never later. For all Mss. it stands thus ea : e = $\frac{54}{3}$ A; $\frac{47}{0}$ B; $\frac{55}{11}$ C; $\frac{50}{21}$ D; $\frac{69}{6}$ E; $\frac{26}{1}$ F; $\frac{45}{9}$ G. These statistics show that ea was favoured at Canterbury (B. F.), and prevailed early in the South. As D's æ = e we may say that e early and late is Mercian or on the borders. (C = Abingdon). The spelling of E. is always strongly influenced by the Ms copied. Ms G. is for its date the greatest innovator, and the introduction of e into a text copied from A. points to Mercian influence. (II) The ending tre as N. S. is avoided in A. S. C., but occurs as Acc. 577 F. bis, 860 A. G. E., 895 G., 1135 E.

LINCOLN.

g. d. abl. Lindissi, g. Lindissae 182, 28; provincia Lindisfarorum 300, 10. g. s. Lindesse T. O. Ca. 182, 28 = Lindesige B. In 300, 10 T. has (in) Lindisse mægðe. O. Ca. on Lindesse m. B. has inn Lindes ege landes (cp. 300, 8). d. s. Lindisse T. 3, i interlined over e 262, 8. Lindesse T. C. O. Ca. (6 exx in T). Lindese O. Ca. Lindesege Ca. 1. B. 4. Lindesige B. 4. Lindesigge B. 1. Lindes iglande B. 242, 14; cp. above.

Arch. Lindisse, -esse.

A. S. C. d. s. only Lindesse A. B. C. G., -disse, -dissi E., -desige C. D. E., -desie C. -desege C.

C. S. 1297 in Lindesige late copy.

Ælfric, Lindesige.

The A. S. C. exhibits (I) Lindesse up to end of 10th c. (II) Lindesige early 11th c., D. first hand. Lindesege late 11th c.

The C. D. index does not give the name. In L. B., O. E. B. and A. S. C. the name is always in an oblique case. There seems no reason for taking the ending i, e, = "isle". Nor is Lindissae for lindes ea. The real ending was the lost ge; see above under Laestinge. On Lyndesse is cited by B. T. We have then Lindis (I) with ge = 'L. district'; (II) with fare, ware = "L. people". The name Lindsey is

also in Suffolk, 8 m. from Sudbury, Lindfield in Sussex, Lindridge in Worcester, Lindsell in Essex.

Lindisfarorum gens (1), provincia (3).

Lindes- (I) farona T. 1, B. 3. (II) farena T. 1, O. 3, Ca. 3. (III) pharona B. 1. (IV) fearona C. 2. (V) fearena T. 1, Ca. 1. In all 4 exx, 238, 13 biscoop; 262, 5, þeode = gens; 272, 14 mægðe; 478, 17 bisceop.

A. S. C. d. p. Lindiswarum 678 E.

C. S. 297 Lindes farona (land) 10th 11th c.

The spelling varies as that of Lindisfarne q. v. But as L. B. discriminates by always using for Lindisfarne the adj. -ensis, and for Lindsey g. p., so O. E. B. in the former case adds ea, ealond, (see above), and in the latter never, a fact which tells against the reading of Ms. B. etc., (under Lindisse).

Lindocolinum, Lindocolina civitas.

g. s. Lindeylene T. 1. O. 1, = Arch. Lindeylne B. 1.

Lindcolene Ca. 1. d. s. Lindeylene T. 1. Ca. 1. B. 1.

Lindcolne B. 1. Lincylne O. 1. Ca. 1.

Lincoln.

A. S. C. 941, Lincylene A. Lindeylne C. G. Lindkylne B. Lincolne D.; 1016 Lincolne C. Lindcolne D. E. Later forms Lincolna, Lincollan, Lincolan, Lincol, E. F.; C. S. 409, 521, 872, 1178; C. D. 809 Lincoln- Lat and Engl. C. D. 956. on Lincolne A. D. 1052.

The Charters except 956 are late forgeries. But C. S. 346 of 814 gives Lindeylne with variant -ylene, both copies "nearly contemporary", in Kent. A still later form of this C. S. 347 gives the form lindceolne. The -col- forms do not appear before the 11th cent. in A. S. C., and this agrees with the Mss evidence in O. E. B. In fact Lindeyl(e)ne is only used during the period when Danish influence was locally paramount and Lincoln one of the Five Boroughs. When they are once more united with Southern England after 941 (A. S. C.), the old Lind(o)col(i)n(um) reappears; the juxtaposition in A. S. C. 941 of both forms in Mss is decisive

on this point. The variants in Kentish Lindcylene -ceolne point to a different original. But we cannot apply laws of Old English, unless we know we are dealing with English words. Col(n)- is widely diffused in England, and moulded out of multiform materials. (Cungle = Coln C. S. 1091). The A. S. C. has to Colne, on Colone 1054 D. = Cologne, Colonia. For examples of Lind- see under Lindissi, Lindisfarne, Clofes hoch.

ad Baruæ id est ad nemus, (bearuæ, baruę I).

æt Bearwe T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Barton upon Humber?; *Barrow* near Goxhill?

The name is found in several localities, A. S. C. E. 963 Barwe; C. S. 348, of A. D. 814, æt bearwe. The form Barwe reappears in later copies C. D. 575. C. S. 1270 etc., but also Bearuwe, Beruwe in Lindesige C 1297 "late copy".

Beardan eu (ig over eu II).

n. and d. Beardan ea T. O. Ca. B. = Arch. Bearda ea T.

g. p. Beardsætena Ca. Beardsetna B. 464, 6, not in Latin.

Arch. Beardan ea.

Bardney.

A. S. C. Beard(d)anigge A. C. D. G. Beardanega B. Beardanega and Bardanig E.

Ælfric, Bardanige S. 2, 136.

Late forms in chh. are Bardunig C. S. 48, 135. Bardanig 49 = A. S. C. Berdea C. S. 268 (Ingulph of Croyland). This latter supports T.'s variant Bearda ea; it occurs in a signature, following one with Medeshamsted and therefore implying a local orthography; cp. Beardsetna 464, 6. This last name, added in O. E. B., shows local and Mercian knowledge in the Archetype.

Peartan eu (eu into ei by eras II).

Peortan ea T. O. Ca. B. = Arch. Portan- O. Ca. Peotan B.

Partney.

Not in A. S. C. or C. D. Index. A. S. C. offers *Portes mūdā* 501, C. D. has no *Peort-*, often *Port*, 560, 1220 *Portanbeorg* *Worc.* and elsewhere (O. Ca); 680 has *Potwyll*, *Wilts*, cp. B.

Tiowulfingacæstir.

d. s. *Teolfinga ceastre* T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Not in A. S. C. or C. D. Index. The town was on the Trent. *Tealfol scet* is mentioned in C. S. 1297 along on with *Bearuwe* (later in same comes *Beruwe* in *Lindesige*). *Scet* is a projection or elbow of land, e. g. Sicily is *pryscyte* (B. T. s. vv. *sceat*, *sceata*). The place in Bede is generally identified with *Torksey*: cp. A. S. C. on *Lindesse æt Tureces iege* 873. Close to *Torksey* is *Till Bridge Lane*, running into *Ermine Street*. The distance of 10 or 12 miles from *Lincoln* suits the context cp. II, 18. *Tiowulf* is *Tidwulf*. O. Germ. *Diotolf*. *Turec* is *Tidric*, = Germ. *Dietrich*? We may imagine two brothers settling down side by side, one leaving his name to the people *Tiowulfingas*, another to an isle, = *ig* or district = *ge*, (cp. *Lindesige*), or two legendary heroes as eponymi.

NORFOLK.

Cnobheresburg, id est urbs *Cnobheri*.

Cnoferesburg T. = Arch.? *Cneoferisburh* B.

Burghcastle.

The change of *bh* to *f* indicates local knowledge. This is in the portion omitted in O. Ca. C., which embraces III, 19, 20. c. 19 refers to *Furseus* the founder of this monastery. The translation therefore was probably added by an East-Anglian, a supposition further supported by the fact that c. 20 begins with a reference to East Anglia. The end of this chapter 20 is wofully mistranslated (220, 16), as if the Latin original was: *et ipso defuncto, Ithamar*. It would appear then as if the original of T. B. was under East

Anglian influence. On the other hand no scribe familiar with Kent could have blundered, as all here have done, in so important a particular as the successors to the archbishopric of Canterbury and to the see of Rochester. This translator was not very capable, for he gives in 212, 9 sqq. for *Deus deorum*, haligra God, and takes in Sion as meaning in wlite seeawunge, confounding Sion with seon, sion, sien, onsien. On the other hand Ælfrie correctly translates, calra goda God, and on Sion, H. 2, p. 332 sqq.

SUFFOLK.

civitas Domnoc (Dommoc I II).

d. s. Dommoc ceastre T. O. Ca. = Arch. Domoc B.

Dunwich.

A. S. C. in Domuce 791 F.

C. S. 312 A. D. 803 Dummucae civitatis, (11th c. copy Dammuce); 528, before 870 but late copy, Dommuciensis, Dommuciaie (Dounuuciaie T. R. Doūuuc T. R.).

A parallel change is found in Domecces ige = Dountsey, Wilts in C. S. 470; (Dometes C. D. 817). But in this case the cc would approximate teh: cp. feccan: "fetch". In "Dunwich" the T. R. spelling, which is repeated, has a strange look; but seems like an approximation to the modern pronunciation. The analogy of Dountsey would suggest a palatal pronunciation of the c, which seems indicated in the spelling -ci-; out of this would result Dunch-. developed later into Dunwich. The first syllable must have been originally Dun-, cp. the Essex Dunmow.

Rendlæsham, id est mansio Rendili, (Raendles-, Raendili I).

Rendlesham T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Rendlesham.

The spelling in Phillips County Atlas is Rendleshamt, about 5 m. N. E. from Ipswich, (for hamton?).

ESSEX.

Pentæ, Paente I with first e erased,
g. s. Pente T. C. O. = Arch. Pante Ca. B.
R. Pant.

Note the erasure in I, which brings the spelling into accord with that of Ca. B. Pantan occurs twice in Bryhtnoth's Death 86, 97. Doubtless the Battle of Maldon (991 A. S. C.) made the river famous. But Ca. B. retain the undeclined form in the gen., instead of the local Pantan (poem l. c.), and their knowledge seems not to go beyond common fame.

Ythan caestir, (caestir I).

n. s. Yððan ceaster T. B. = Arch. (O. Ca. defect).

A. S. C. Yttinga forda 906 A. B. C. G. (D. yti-).

Thorpe identifies this with "Hitchen?". But on the Chelmer near the junction with the Blackwater (= Pant) is Ulting, two miles from Langford on the Blackwater. Maldon is a couple of miles lower down. Utta, Utel, Utol are English names; see O. E. T. Index p. 563. Utlinga is a German place name, Uoto, Uotila proper names; Graff 1, 53. Y- is due to i- mutation; the consonant variation is regular also; cp. set, setl, sedel, seld. Camden identifies it with Maldon, on ancient authority. Ytingas C. D. 1228 (Kemble S. in E.)

Tilaburg, Tillaburg I, II, but one l in both interlined,

Tilaburg Ca., Tilaburgh O., Tíflaburh B. Tulaburh T.

Arch. Tillaburg?

Tilbury.

The spelling of I, II is supported by Tilling(e)ham C. S. 8, C. D. 957, both favouring a short i. Probably the Arch. had Tilla-. A shortened first l led to the mistakes in T. B. The double accent over ii is common as in Hii (A. S. C. and O. E. B.) tiid etc.

in Bercingum (Berc- I), Bericinensis 18, 15; in Bercingum

T. = Arch.; on B. B.; on Beorcengum C ; on Byrcingum O. Ca.; Berceingum Ca. 18. 15.

Barking.

Not in A. S. C. The identification with Berkshire (O. E. T. p. 540) is against B. H. E. IV, 6 and the Charters. Berks in A. S. C. = Bearrucscir, Bearroc, Barruc. Beorclea (Ib) is Berkeley. In C. S. 81, orig. of 692—3, the name of the monastery is Beddanhaam, with endorsement to berecingon "in a later but early hand" (E. L. C. p. 13). C. S. 87 ("late paper copy"). Berecingas et Beddanham (et = æt), a perverse forgery, cp. C. S. 1288, 1289 (12th c. copy) æt byorcingum, into beorcingum C. S. 1012 (M. E. copy) at Berkinge. C. D. 907 gives similar forms Berc- in Norfolk; Berch- in Suffolk- (Bercheham = Barsham); 1220 Byremære Worc. This last may have suggested O. Ca.'s form. The break in C. has 12th c. support.

CAMBRIDGE.

in regione quae vocatur Elge; ipsa autem regio Elge;
est Elge . . . regio, 3 exx. 318, 10; 320, 5; 324, 6;

T. 1. lige.	2. elia lond.	3. elia lond
B. 1. æl æg.	2. elíga land.	3. élig þæt land.
O. 1. hélige.	2. heliga land.	3. helig ealond.
Ca. 1. elige.	2. heliga land.	3. élig þæt land.

Ely.

A. S. C. Elige A. B. C. 673. Helige E. 673, Helig D. Eli F. 673. Ely (sic, Wheelocke) G. 673. Elig, in E. 8, F. 1. In all 9 times in E. twice in C. D. F. once A. B. G.) Ælfrie, Elig.

Charters, (I) original C. S. 1267 of 970, Elig (capitals), Helig (caps.) Elig; C. D. 759 = E. L. C. 240 of 1038, Elig. (II) later copy of 11th c.? C. D. 722 = E. L. C. 224 of 1015, Helig. (III) date of copy?, East Anglian?, C. S. 1288, 1289 ylig, ælig, (in many words e, æ, y used indifferently) "after 991". (IV) 12th c. C. D. 885 Hely, Ely; 897

Hele. (V) late 12th c. C. D. 725, 904, 907, 932. Ely, Elyensis. C. S. 1265 Ely and Elig. C. D. 711 Elyg.

The name involves ge 'district'; cp. regio in L. B.; but Bede derives it clearly from *anguilla* + *insula* (IV, 19). Hence B's. æl æg. In A. S. C. 673 the name is in dat. with æt. Hence Thorpe assumes Elig as nom. But this is not necessary; cp. L. B. with O. E. B. We cannot suppose any scribe to have had local familiarity. It is clear that Elige must have been in the Arch. There was an early variation introduced, which looks like an attempt at a g. p. Finally B. O. Ca. with more or less success adopt the spelling of their day (Elig) and correct the text to suit. The quantity of the first syllable seems certain from the derivation assumed, and from the accentuation both in O. E. B., and A. S. C. 1082. It is however perplexing to find the 2nd syllable also accented in O. E. B. Ms. B., and in A. S. C. E. 1070; this may arise from the assumed etymology, ig, "isle". Has the first syllable anything to do with æl, "eel"? In 8th century and other documents there are to be found old German names *alihccauge*, *ailihccaugia*, *ailachoga*, *eilacgawe*, *elihcavia* Graff 1, 235; IV, 275. These all end with *gawi* = ge 'district'. It is possible that Elige is an old Teutonic, and not a local compound.

Grantacaestir, Grantacæster I, 320, 8.

n. s. Grantacester T. = Arch.? -ceastre O. Ca. to Grantan streame B. (who alters and omits considerably, see below).

Grantchester.

A. S. C. Grantebrycg 875 A. G. Grantanbrycg 921 A. G. Grantabricscir 1010 C. D. with other variations in spelling under 875, 1010, 1011.

Ælfric, Grantanceaster, from Bede (Lat.).

Charters, C. S. 1267, "orig." of 970, into Grantanbricge. 1266 Latin version, "doubtful, if authentic" in provincia Grantacester. C. D. 907, of Edward the Confessor, many copies, all late, in *comitatu Grantecestriae*; reference is made to donation in 970. C. S. 872 *comitatus Grantebrigiae*

(Ingulph). It would seem then as if Grantacester was not a name in popular use; in 1266—67 direct reference is made to Bede by name, and 907 is founded on 1266. The stone bridge may date from Roman times, when the town on the left bank was called Camboritum. Coins of Vespasian and later emperors have been discovered there (Encycl. Brit.). "In the 11th century the borough began to expand beyond the narrow Roman limits. A population grew up by degrees on the other side of the river" (Ib.). Grantchester in Bede's time was a decayed, little town (*civitatum quendam desolatam*). But the Danes in 875 spent a year at Grantebrycg (A. S. C.), which became a Danish centre (A. S. C. 921), but falling under Edward's power, later made stout opposition to the Danes (921, 1010). B.'s version (O. E. B.) is as follows: *comon hi to grantan streame 7 hi sona gemetton be þæs streames weallum purh*. This has an air of local knowledge, but is self-contradictory.

The original account (T. O. Ca. = L. B.) makes the boat start from Ely and arrive at Grantchester, "not very far off" (*non procul inde sitam*). Ms B. makes the boat start from Ely and arrive at the river Granta. But Ely is on the Granta. B. also has *streames weallum*, for *ceastre w.*, an awkward substitution to make the context consistent. The confusion arises from the name Grantebrycg, the growing town of the 11th cent., known by report to B., who accordingly omits the notice as to the ruinous condition of place. This half-knowledge is exemplified further in B's. etymological *æl æg* for *Elig*, noticed above. In fine no Ms of O. E. B. exhibits signs of familiarity with East Anglia, although, as pointed out under *cnoferesburg* (q. v.), at one period an East Anglian must have revised the original of T. B. For *cester*, *ceastre* see under *Tunnanceaster*.

HERTS.

Herutford, Heorutford I. Herud- II, e over dotted u,
i. e. read hered-.

n. Heorotford T. = Arch. Heortford O. Ca. B.

d. Heorotforda C. Heortforda B. Heortfeorda Ca.
Hertford.

A. S. C. Heorotford 673, 913 A. 913 G. Heort- B. C. D.
E. F. (G. 673).

Charters are late copies C. S. 965; C. D. 866. The forms
are discussed under Heoroteu.

Uætlinga cæstir (cēster I).

Wæclingaceaster C. Ca. B.

Saint Albans.

C. D. 696 A. D. 996 æt Ueatlinga c.; C. D. 672 (not genuine)
Wætlinga c.; C. S. 994 on Wætlingan stræte æt Sancte
Albane. Locally Wæt- with t seems preferred; cp. (1) A. S. C.
1013 C. D. E. F. (II) C. S. 986, 1309. But Wæc- C. S.
792 orig. of 944 Northampton, C. S. 1315 (Heming), C. S.
659 Bedford. C. D. 1356 Weac- Northampton; cp. Ueat-
above.

Uerlamacæstir.

Werlama ceaster B = Arch. Werlameceaster c. = *Saint
Albans.*

Haethfelth, -feld I.

Hædfeld T. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

Hatfield.

MIDDLESEX.

(a) Lundonia 3; (b) Lundonia civitas 7; (c) Lundoniensis
civitas 1; (d) urbs Lundonia 1; (e) Lundoniensis
(episcopus 1, antistes 1); (f) Lundonienses II, 6; 15
exx. in all.

(I) Lundenburg C. 1. Ca. 1. B. 2. (II) in Lundenne
T. O. Ca. B. (-dene), once each. (III) Lundenceaster
T. 9. C. 3. O. 8. Ca. 10. B. 9 (IV) Lundencester
Z. 1. (V) Lundenwaran T. C. B. II, 6 (O. Ca. def.).

London.

A. S. C. Lundenburh A. 11; B. 11; C. 15; D. 13; E. 3; F. 2; G. 12. Lunden A. 3; B. 3; C. 22; D. 28; E. 48; F. 17; G. 3. Lundenwic E. 1, F. 1 (-da-); with a very few minor variations. Lunden occurs in A. B. G. 839, 898, 962. But Alfred's age prefers Lundenburh. Lundenware occurs 616 E., 1016 C. D.

Charters: French C. S. 259 of 790; 494 of 857 have Lundenwic. Others Lunden, Lundenwic, on Lundenbyrig etc. The older Ch. are Latin.

(I) C. S. 152 orig. of 734 Lundonia; cp. 265 etc. (II) C. S. 335 of 811 has oppido Lundaniæ vicu; cp. Heming C. S. 189 of 761 Lundenwic, and see 492. (III) on Lundenbyrig 1296, date? once T. R. (also on Lundene). (IV) Lunden tun, 171 of 743 (Heming), once. (V) from 10th c. on, Lunden is the general English form; C. D. 280, 316, 685, 716, 759, 972 etc. [Lo]nden C. S. 152. "hand of 10th c." should therefore be [Lu]nden. Lo- is late C. S. 1264; 1277; 1008 (M. E. copy); 34 very late. 1228 *do.* C. D. 718 forgery; 771 *do.*; 856 very late; 1338 dated 1050—1054. Lo- in fact is mainly confined to late copies.

The early A. S. C. then prefers Lundenburh, which is Alfredian. But O. E. B. has Lundenceaster, even where not influenced by the Latin civitas. York in both O. E. B. and A. S. C. early and late is called ceaster, which would influence a Northern translator. We may say Alfred or a Southern would certainly have written Lundenburg, which is seen stealing into O. E. B.

Tamensis.

g. d. Temese T. Z. O. Ca. B. = Arch.

R. *Thames.*

Orosius, Temes acc. 238, 22. (Temese Ms C.). C. P. Temese d.

A. S. C. a. g. d. Temese passim. Tæmese D. E. Temise F. 893. But d. Temesan in C. D. E. F. Temese as nom. E. F. D. (æ). Praef.

Charters, Temese as nom. C. D. *537, as g. d. passim; Temes etc., see below.

The form *Tamensis* in L. B. has no real local support (twice in late forgeries 715, 990). Of the classical forms *Tamesis* (Caesar), *Tamesa* (Tac.), the latter is adopted. *Tamisa* occurs in originals C. S. 81, 111 of 692, 704, both older than L. B. (I) The English *Temese* is found in full in 25 out of 43 charters, Latin and English; (II) shortened to *Temes*. C. S. 443 (12th 13th c. copy); C. D. *987; (III) *Temis* C. D. *26, *29; (IV) variants, *Tæmese* C. D. 526, 688, *715; (V) *Temæse*, C. D. *1069, 1156; (VI) *Taemise* C. D. 179; (VII) with *a*, *Tamese*, *Tamisia*, *Tamis*, *Tamyse*, *Thamisia*, *Tamisa*, *a Tamense* (C. S. 48 late forgery), in all 8 examples. The form *Thamisia* occurs once in C. D. *718 a later forgery, but dated as if early 11th c. This is sole ex. which I have found of Th. Scribe B. of O. E. B. had not much knowledge of London, or the lower Thames as he makes London an "island city" 104, 16. Perhaps he misunderstood the facts given A. S. C. 1016, as to the Danish channel, and the ditch round the city.

OXON.

Civitas quae vocatur Dorcic-; Dorciccaestrae, Dorciccęstre

I. *Dorcicæstrę N.*

d. *Dorcotceastre* T. 1. = Arch. *Dorcet-* T. 1. *Dorce-*, C. 1; Ca. 2; B. 2. *Dorce-* O. 1 with *t* erased; O. 1 with two letters erased, the second *t*.

Dorchester, Oxon.

A. S. C. *Dorcesceaster* A. G. 636, 639. *Dorceceaster* A. B. C. D. E. G. *Dorke-* 635 A. B. C. 636 B. C. 639 C. *Dorceceaster* G. 635. *Doraceaster* E. *Dorkaceaster* D. Summary -cec-, -kec-, A. 2. B. 5. C. 5. D. 2. E. 2; -cesc- A. 2. G. 2. both pre-Alfredian.

Ælfric, *Dorcanceaster* S. 2, 134.

Charters, (I) C. S. 614, contemp. of 904, *Dorceceaster*; 912, before 955, æt *Dorceastre Myrcumme*.

(II) C. D. 691, contemp.? of 995, *Dorcocensis*; C. D. 698, contemp.? of 997, *Dorcensis*.

The variations in spelling point back to a form Dorcot-. Doru-, Duro- occur in many names in many places in Celtic Britain, dwr is Celtic = water (Smith. Dict. G. s. v. Durobrivæ art. by Latham), Cot- enters into many names in Oxon, Berks and Bucks, Cottsford, Gawcott, Edgecott, Ken-, Kelms-, Rad-, Wood-, Didcot etc. etc. L. B. and C. D. prove that Dorocot without ceaster was the original name. Probably on its being made an episcopal see ceaster was added. In Bk. III. 7, the erection of the see is spoken of (Dorcic); in IV, 23 speaking of the succession, Bede says: in episcopatum Dorciccaestrae. Probably this addition led to the changes in the name. Dorcicæstre (N.) may be an error of the continental scribe. But the assimilation of t to c, the change to s, and final absorption follow the usual course. T. then represents the earliest stage with Dorcot, which probably is due to local knowledge in the translator. But, as A. S. C. and English Charters show, this form early disappeared, and was only retained in the Latin style. T. then in the 10th c. was using a non local form; so was the original scribe of O. B. Ca. show local knowledge. Ælfrie's form shows confusion with the Dorset town, Dornaceaster etc. C. S. 410, 451, 716, 718, 719 etc., perhaps also with Wintan-ceaster.

KENT.

Cantia.

a. and d. Cent. T. C. O. Ca. B. passim Cēnt T.¹ Cænt T.⁴; Centlond (land) T. 2. C. 1. O. 2. Ca. 2. Z. 1. B. 14. Centrice Ca. Cetrica B. B. once has ceng- with t interlinear.

A. S. C. Cent passim. Cænt D. E. Centland (lond), Kent-, A. B. C. D. E. F.

Orosius, Centlond 238, 19, 20.

Charters, Cent, Kænt.

The forms with land occur 18 times in A. S. C. as against 74 without. -land is found only in four years 457, 676, 994, 1015. In A only in 457, 676. Most charters have Lat. Cantia etc.; I have not found an ex. of Centland. The

word is found in Orosius only in one passage. Centland however appears in B. of O. E. B. 14 times, in Ca. twice (see above), while Cent appears in Ca. 22 times, but only 10 times in B. Why this preference? B. has also Tenetland q. v. and Wihthland five times (other Mss. ealond). This use of land seems to have become common about the beginning of the 11th c., and is found in Mss. C. D. of A. S. C. Engla-land in A. S. C. begins after the 10th cent. (not in B), earliest in D. (first hand). But it occurs also in the Laws 10th c. (late). Can the extended use be due to Scandinavian influence? Land is widely used in Icelandic. In any case the usage is not one markedly local to Kent, and B.'s blunders added to this fact exclude him from Kent, (ceng, cetric; see also above under Cnoferesburg).

PEOPLE OF KENT.

Cantuarii, passim. Doruuernensis 2. Cantia 2.
 n. p. Cantware Ca. B. Cantwara O. Ca. B. Contweara T.⁵
 g. Cantwara T.¹ T.³ C. O. Ca. B. Cantwarena C. O.
 Canwara Ca. Canwarena Ca. Contwara T. O. Ca.
 Contwarena T. d. Cantwarum O. Ca. B. Contwarum
 T. C. Canwarum C.
 Arch. Contware.

TOWNS etc.

(I) Doruuernis 1; civitas D. 2. (II) Doruuernensis 9;
 ecclesia D. 1; civitas D. 2. (III) ecclesia Cantuari-
 orum 1.

= *Canterbury*, for which O. E. B. has some case of
 burh (the nom. does not occur), preceded by (1) cont-
 wara, cantwara, (2) -ware, (3) -warena, (4) -weara,
 (5) canwara.

The declension of burg is as follows.

Gen. Burge T. O. Ca. B. C. burhge O. Ca. B. Dat.
 byrig T. O. Ca. B. C. birig B. burhge O. D. or A. burg
 T. 258, 1.

The usage as to Cont-, Cant-, Can- both with and

without burg is a follows $o : a = \frac{31}{5} T.^1, = \frac{0}{1} T.^3, = \frac{1}{0} T.^4, = \frac{1}{0} T.^5, = \frac{3}{9} C., = \frac{3}{26} O., = \frac{2}{39} Ca., = \frac{3}{42} B.;$ Can- Ca. 1, C. 2. weara once in O with cant interlined, but Ca. weara only.

In combination with burg is found -wara T. 8, B. 14, O 10, Ca. 10, C 1; -ware T. 2, B. 1, Ca. 1; -warena T. 2, B. 1, O. 1, Ca. 1, C. 2; -weara O. 1; weara Ca. 1. Canwara Ca. 1, C. 1.

Summary of forms in A. S. C. (N. B. cont- only twice contwara A. 616, contwara burh 851).

I. People (I) -wara n. p. E. twice; (II) -ware n. p. passim, all Mss. D. -waræ 823; (III) centware, centwaræ F. once each; (IV) cantware d. s. = Kent E. 617; (V) cantware, followed by rice, cining, E. 616, F. 616, 673, 694.

II. Town: cantwara b.; cantware b.

$ra : re = \frac{2}{5} A., = \frac{1}{1} B., = \frac{6}{3} C., = \frac{2}{6} D., = \frac{2}{2} E., = \frac{0}{14} F., = \frac{2}{0} G.$

But F. has cantwar with r final 12 times. [A] has re twice.

Declension of burh, n. a. burh A., burg B. C. D. E. F. G. byrig E., buruh C., byri D. (1050). g. byrig E. byri E., beri F. d. byrig C. D. E. byri A. 1070, berig A. 1070, beri F. Cantuarberiae A. Latin 1079.

The spelling Cantuar- is elsewhere confined to F.

Ælfric, Cantwarebyrig. H. 2, 128 bis; S. 1, 436.

Charters. Most use Latin names. Dorobernis etc. out of 67, only 13 have the English name. Of these only three are contemporary, C. S. 330, orig. of 805—810, to Cantuara-byrg. C. D. 722, contemp. of 1015, (E. L. C. p. 224); on cantwarabyrig. C. D. 1327 Cnut, contemp.?, cantra-byrg.

The rest are later copies with these forms, (I) cantware byrig C. D. 685, 742, 929. (II) Cantwarabyrig C. D. 722, 847, 929. (III) Cantorebyrig C. D. 722. (IV) cantware-berig C. D. 742. (V) cantwarbery C. D. 799. (VI) canter-beŕ (sic.) C. S. 1012.

- I. In O. E. B. Mss. the usage of T. is in strong contrast to the other Mss. (except C.), to the A. S. C. and charters, as regards the nasal a, o.
- II. Cantware used to form compounds is not early 10th cent; A. S. C. earliest in B. 754, D. 851. The use in A. S. C. 617 cantware d. s. = Kent is noticeable; as it appears with cining, rice (E. F.), it must be regarded as a true noun. The form -war, so frequent in E., occurs only in the first hand.
- III. weara Ca. 260, 11 follows O, the interlineation is probably later than Ca., and the error tends to dissociate both from the locality; contweara is in T. 420, 13; ea is to be regarded as Midland (V. P.) and Northern.
- IV. Canw- seems more than a scribal error; see statistics; it is found once in T. also and twice in Ca. with t interlined.

Tanatos.

n. d. Tenet B. Ca. Tenetland B. Tenent O. 56, 28,
but Ca. Tenen with t interlined.

Arch. Tenet = *Thanet*.

A. S. C. Tenet A. B. C. D. E. Tenetland 869 C. D. E. F.
980 C. Tænet D.

Charters: Tenid C. S. 45 of 679; Tenet C. S. 780 of 943;
Tenytt C. S. 791 of 944, endorsement. Tænet C. S. 880
("11th c. copy") of 949, also in C. D. 896, time of Edward
the Confessor. Tenetland = L. insula Tanatorum in a
forged Charter C. D. *715 dated 1006 (many copies).

The usage as to -land has been discussed under Cantia.
B. finds no support in genuine documents; "insula Tanatorum"
has no support in other Charters (14 in all), which mention
Thanet. I may add as to land in A. S. C. that it is found
in Centland, Tenetland, Wihthland, Portland 983 C., 1052 E.,
(but Port, 837 A. B. C. D. E.), Engaland; Cumbraland 945,
1000; Cumberland 1000; Nordanhymbra land (Nord-) 876,
895 etc.: see particulars under names in O. E. B. We find
land in charters Portland C. D. 891 Edward Conf., 1284
dated 988; Engaland C. D. 896 (Edw. C.), 1341 dated

1061; E. L. C. p. 229 Cnut's manifesto; see also C. D. 853 Edw. Conf.; 1119 (M. E. copy). This shows B. to be 11th c. and non-local. The ignorance of O. Ca. conclusively excludes them from Kent.

Hrofæscæstir, Hrofaescaester II; civitas Hrofi; Hrofensis; H. civitas, H. ecclesia. In II, 3. = 104, 24 civitas Dorubreis quam gens Anglorum . . . Hrofæscæstræ cognominat Here I. has Hrofescaester and II. Hrofaescaestrae.

(I) Hrofes-ceaster T. B. 1, C. 2, O. 8, Ca. 8; (II) Hrofe-ceaster T.⁴ 1, C. 4, O. 2, Ca. 10, B. 13. (III) Hroue-ceaster B. 3, but only in Table of Contents (Capitula).

A. S. C. has 19 variations: the first part has these forms Hrofes- A. G. 7 (stop 894). B. 5; C. 3; D. 5; E. Hrofe- B. 2; C. 2; D. 6; E. F. Hrof- B. C. 633, 644. (H)roue E. F.; -ceaster etc. in various shapes.

Charters: (I) Hrofes- C. S. 339, A. D. 811; C. S. 558, A. D. 880; and T. R. up to end of 10th c. (II) Hrofe-, 10th c.? T. R. in C. D. 929 (Bp. Godwin cp. A. S. C. 1011). (III) Hroue- C. D. 975 after A. D. 1058 T. R., cp. C. S. 418.

Hence we conclude that Hrofes- is earliest and continuous up to middle of 10th c. and that Hroue- belongs to the middle of 11th c. and thence onwards.

O. has once Hrof- with es, once Hrofe- with s., above. In the first case Ca. has hrofes-, in the second hrofe-.

Clearly T. (Hrofe once only) is most archaic, probably also most remote; O. ranks next, but the scribes waver; C. Ca. prefer the later form. B. has the latest forms almost exclusively, perhaps is nearest in locality. His spelling points decidedly to the 11th century; see above Sæfern.

Clofes hoch, hooch I. II. IV, 5 = 278, 26 n. Clofes hoh T. B. Clofes hooch O. Ca. = Arch. [*Cliff at Hoo*. Thorpe in A. S. C.].

A. S. C. 822 æt Clofes hoo, A. B. D. G., æt Cleofes hóó C.; 742 æt Cloues hou F.

Charters: orig. or contemp. (742—825 A. D.). C. S. 162, 274, 310, 312, 378, Clofeshos, Clobeshoas, Clofeshoas, æt Clofes houn.

The contemporary charters have always the plural. The name is often changed in later copies to Clofeshoh, Clofesho, Clofeshes, and in dative Clobes[s]ham, Clobeshom. Also in 11th—12th c. copies, Cloveshoh, Clovesho. B. T. cites *pa hean hos* = promuntoria. Kemble, C. D., III, p. XXXI, cites several Pr. Names which are singular. He identifies it with "the word hock, well known in our sporting vocabulary", and considers it, "originally a point of land formed like a heel, or boot, and stretching into the plain, perhaps even into the sea" (Ib). The word hoe is still found in many words, and also itself as P. N.; e. g. the Hoe a high plateau of land running between the inlets of Plymouth Sound along the shore. In C. S. (I) 89, *Hogh n. s.*, in *Hoge d. s.*; 159 in *regione quae vocatur Hohg*, gift to Rochester, N. of which lie Hoo, Hoo St. Mary, and Cliffe at Hoo, the place commonly identified with Clofeshooh; (II) 235 æt *Criddesho*, Worc. near Evesham; (III) 267 æt *Caegesho*, Herts = Cashiobury; (IV) 1282 in *strenges ho*, on *lindho*, of *lindho*, lands of Pershore, close to a moor; (V) C. D. 663 to *Ælfrīde ho*, *panon andlang mores* to *Tilmundes*, *panan andlang mores* etc. Sussex, by Chichester. But the word is not confined to the South: "Haugh, flat ground by a river side. Also a hillock. North". Halliwell. (There is some confusion at times with A. S. *haga*, = "haw"). The identification with Cliff at Hoo is doubtful. Clofes is g. s., as in most other combinations quoted above, nor is it readily reducible to Cliff; again *Hogh* in Kent is in the singular and name of a district (*regio*). We should expect to find the sibilant preserved, as in *Keysoe* (Beds) and *Cashio-* (Herts), perhaps a form like *Closehoe*; cp. Rochester = *Hrofe-*. *Cleofeshoo* A. S. C. C stands alone.

There is in C. D. 769 æt *Clife* near Dover: cp. the present St. Margaret at Cliffe. So also in C. S. 227 *clifwara gemære* (orig. of 778) seemingly in Kent by Rochester; C. S. 402 (late copy), date 832 *apud clive*, also seemingly

in Kent; also cp. C. D. 429. It seems difficult in face of this evidence to admit the identification by Thorpe. The place was likely in Mercia. The local business recorded in the charters is mostly Mercian, or concerns the archbishop (exceptions C. S. 387, 848). At one synod C. S. 379 universi Mercientum principes were present.

The extant charters date from 742 (C. S. 162) to 825 (C. S. 387), and thus fall within the Mercian supremacy 685—823, on the other hand the place was selected at the Hertford synod of 670 (B. H. E. IV, 5) for the place of annual meeting. The next recorded synod in 680 was held at Haethfelth, generally identified as Hatfield, Herts. Why not locate Clofeshoh in Herts? Cashio-bury (caegesho) is 12 miles from Hatfield, and exhibits a local -hoh.

Uuantsumu, in II with e interlined over um.

a. Wantsumo O. Ca. = Arch. Wantsama B.

R. *Stour*.

C. S. 791, contemp.? of 944, on þa ea Wantsume 7 lang Wantsume.

The slight evidence is against B.

Racuulfe.

n. Reaculfe T. C. O. Reaculf Ca. with final e interlined and struck through. Reculf B.

Reculver.

A. S. C. Reculf A. 669. Raculf B. C. D. E. G. on Raculfe E. F.

Charters: 1. Recuulf 7th c., Kent, C. S. 45, orig.

2. Riculfi n. 8th c., Kent, C. S. 199, orig.

3. Reacolvense adj., 9th c., Kent, C. S. 332, orig.

4. æt Ræculfo, 9th c., Mercian, C. S. 384.

5. Raculunga mearc, 10th c., C. S. 791, ter.

6. Raculfense, 9th c., (endorsed Raculfes 11th c. de Raculf 12th c.), C. S. 949, an 11th c. copy.

All other charters have Rac-, but are late copies. The Latinised Regulbium was early Anglicised, and mutated. The final e, early i, is found in a 13th c. copy, apud Raculfe, see

C. D. 1004, C. S. 173, and E. L. C., p. 408. The form in 10th — 11th c. seems Rac.- (A. S. C., and C. D.). Probably Reac- in Arch.

SURREY.

Sudergeona g. p., Sudrioena I o above na half erased,
one ex.

Sudrigna T. gn interlined; Sudrigena O. Ca. B.

Surrey.

A. S. C. sud- acc. rige A. B. C. D.; rie G. rig, rege, erege
E.; rigan C.; rei F. d. rigum A. B. C. D. E. G.; rigium
A. C. G. rigan C. E. rigean D. E. reian, rei F. g. rigea
A. B. C.

Charters: original, Sweet O. E. T. 21, 23, in regione sud-
regiæ cp. C. S. 421, 838 A. D. C. S. 558 in Sudregum.
The other Charters are mostly late copies, as C. S.
275, Mercian, about A. D. 796, which has in regione
Suthregeona. C. D. temp. Edw. Conf. Sudrege dat. We
may assume an original Suder, Suther, + ge = South
district i. e. South of London. The form of g. p. reappears
in Eastrgena C. S. 254 orig. cp. Gothic n. p. gaujans =
τὸ πλῆθος τῆς περιχώρου, g. p. *gaujono; O. H. G. Sun-
dargouue Graff VI, 258; sudertun C. D. 233 etc. The
form in T. is an after thought. The early variation in
spelling is seen in L. B. With A. S. C. G. may be com-
pared d. p. sudrian C. D. 715, A. D. 1006; 896, 11th c.;
C. S. 627 A. D. 909; also sudrion C. D. 716, about 996;
but these four are copies. For ge 'district' see above
Lindesse, Elge etc Thus we have sudgeweore = South-
wark, the South fort, and Surrey = the South district
adjoining.

Cerotaes ei, id est ceroti insula. Ceortes ei I.

n. s. Ceortes eig. T. ceortes eg B. ceortes ige O. Ca.

A. S. C. d. ceortes ige. A. G. 964. d. ceortes ege E. 1084.

d. certes ige D. 964.

C. S. d. ceortesege 558, about 880. The other charters are 12th c. copies or later, but favour eg as local form. C. D. 850, temp. E. C., has eige. This word, or affix, 'isle' varies troublesomely with time and place.

I give the forms in contemporary documents: L. B., A. S. C., charters. In L. B. Mss M. I. II mingle North and South forms — nom. eu, ei, ig, eg. acc. eu. dat. eu, ei, æi. Details under Beardaneu; Cerotes ei; Heruteu; Laestinga eu; Peartaneu; Selæs eu. In A. S. C. (all Mss) A. nom. ig; acc. ige; dat. ige, igge, iege, eigge. B. nom. eg; acc. ege; dat. ege, igge. C. nom. ig; acc. ige, igge; dat. ige, igge; D. nom. igge; acc. ige, igge; dat. igge, ige, ege. E. nom. ig; acc. ige, ege; dat. ige, ege, eie. F. dat. ige, ege. G. nom. ig; acc. ige; dat. ige. A. C. G. exclude ege; proportion of ig: eg = $\frac{3}{4}$ B.; $\frac{9}{7}$ D.; $\frac{8}{6}$ E.; $\frac{3}{1}$ F.; dat. eie E. twice; iege only A. 873. eg in D first hand only twice; Olanege only ex. in C. Rumenea E. F. Pefenes -æ, Pefenes ea in E. P'euenesea C. F. E. Pefnesea D. Pefenasæ C.

Contemporary Charters up to the end of the 10th c.

- I. N. eah, ae, ea. D. aea, æa. C. S. 45, 335, 341, 348, 353, all Kentish; ae in Limingae = ge O. E. T. ch. 5, see above under Laestinga. Bollan ea C. S. 144, Sussex, may be = 'water'; but Bolney is a modern Sussex name 7 m. S. E. of Horsham. (For ea = 'water', see below. In L. B. Homelea is R. Hamble.) At present the R. Adur parts off the East and West Sussex dialects, the latter approximating that of Hants. Bolney and Pevensey are east of the line. Cp. Latham Engl. Lang. § 321. We may fairly group these then with Kentish names.
- II. N. eg, ei. A. eige. G. egi. D. ege, eige. C. S. 50, 82, 312, 558, 1040, 1267, 1282, 1334, Surrey, Sussex, Worcester, Hereford, Bedford.
- III. N. ig C. S. 1347 Æthelig? cp. 999 æt Helig. D. ige. C. S. 748; Wilts.

1. *ea* in later charters = 'isle'; C. S. 268 (Ingulph) Berdea; see above Beardaneu; C. S. 1052 fulan *ea*, may mean 'stagnant water' (borders of Lincoln and Yorks.); but 1230 (Oxon) we have fulan *yge*. The meaning 'water' is certain in C. S. 22 per unam pulcram aquam Bradanea: cp. above Bollan *ea*. The form *-eia* frequent in later charters is a Latinised, eg, *ig*, e. g. Rameseia or Ramesige, C. D. 1331, 581 and in many charters. C. S. 268, C. D. III p. 48 both refer to Lincoln.

2. *eg* in later copies of charters is found in Worc., Glouc., Northamp., Hunts, Cam., Middlesex, Essex, Oxon, Berks?, Hants, Surrey, Kent.

3. *ig* later, passim in C. D.; but Kentish *ea* retains its place e. g. Gravenea.

For "island" V. P. has *ealond* (*eo-*); so also North. But *igland* etc. (*ieg-* *-ëg-*) is Saxon. When then O. E. B. shows for L. B. *eu* the form *ea*, it follows that the scribe employs a form distinctly not West Saxon. Cp. Cosijn A. W. S. Gr. 1, p. 110. The general use therefore of *ea*, *ealond* in all O. E. B. Mss is a proof that the archetype of the translation was not West Saxon. The occasional introduction of *igland* in B is a proof of Southern admixture. The earliest Kent charters are A. D. 679, 811, 812, 814. We may say then that in the 8th century we have contemporary forms, (1) *eu* in the North, (2) *ea* Midland and Kentish, (3) *ei*, *ig*, *eg* in the South. The only Southern form in the Moore Ms is *Cerotaes ei*, which, as M. is Northern, proves the rule. The O. E. B. Mss follow the Moore Ms in so far that, except in Chertsey, they replace *eu* by *ea*. The Southern forms are noticeable in the erroneous *Lindesiglande* of B, etc. (see under *Lindesse*), and the blunder *Glæstinga igge*; see *Læstinga ea*. B's *ceortes eg* seems locally correct, but he misinterprets the text by assuming that L. B. describes two monasteries on the spot. The monastery had indeed a double dedication, *sub nomine sanctae Trinitatis et beati Petri* C. D. 318. Hence B's error, who can only have known the place from hearsay. T's *eig* may be archetypal. The

form *ige* in O. Ca. keeps to A. S. C. spelling, as in A., G., D. (Worc.).

SUSSEX.

Selæs eu. Sæles eu M. Seles eu I. Selaes ei II.

Seles ea C. O. Ca. Syles ea O. Ca. Seolesig B. æt Seolesigge B. Arch. Seles ea = *Selsey*.

A. S. C. æt Seoles igge 980 C.

Charters: (I) C. S. 1334, orig. of 780, Sioles aei; (II) C. S. 312, orig. of 803, Selesegi; (III) 11th c. copy of 312, Seolesegiæ; (IV) later copy Seolosegie.

(1) Other late copies of Charters give Seolesige C. S. 64, 134; Selesegh C. S. 302, 387; Selesie, Selesie C. S. 997; Selesy C. S. 237, 262. (2) Also in the Codex Wintoniensis, local for Hants, of 12th c., we find Sioluc ham, C. D. 673. Seolescumb Seolesburnan, sceolles uille, C. S. 741, 408 etc. (3) Sceolles ealdeotan C. D. 792 in Berks. (4) Selesdun, C. S. 558 (Duke Alfred's will) is in Surrey. (5) Sylweg by Witleah 8 miles N. W. of Worcester C. S. 219; C. D. 1369; close are modern Shelsey Walsh, Shelsey Beauchamp. These widespread approximations, particularly the local repetitions in Hants, throw a doubt on Bede's derivation = *insula vituli marini*. Of course *sc-* = modern *sh-* regularly. Sioles is the oldest local form, 8th c. grant by dux Suth Saxonum. Seles occurs in a Mercian document. Seoles prevails in later copies of 11th—12th c., and being local in Hants, may be accepted as the true local spelling. Hence B alone is local of O. E. B. Mss. But the form *ea*, as I have shown, is not West Saxon nor attested by any Charter. We must exclude therefore the Archetype and C. O. Ca. from the locality. Sylweg points to an assimilation by O. Ca. to Worc. forms. Very notable is B's variation æt Seolesigge, a departure from the L. B. and from the Arch. in 448, 17, but an approximation to A. S. C. Ms C. (Abingdon). Both texts refer to the Sussex bishopric. Now in another passage, also relating to the bishopric, B. alters the text, by reading *sohton*, to suit the circumstances of the day. The first mention of a 'Sussex'

bishop, as such, is in the passage of the A. S. C. 1038 just cited. Further examples of B's. local knowledge are given above under Tine, and below under Meanware, and Winchester.

Bosanhamm, Bosanham I. II.

Bosanham T. C. O. Ca., Bosanhamm B = Arch?

Bosham.

A. S. C. Bosanham C. D., Bosenham E. F. Bosan- is local: cp. Bosanhangran Hants C. S. 763. The double consonant mm is common in -ham, as in A. S. C. 879 Fullanhamme; and locally in C. S. 763 ydeles hammas.

HANTS.

Civitas Uenta, quae a gente Saxonum Uintan caestir appellatur. Uintacaestir I.

Civitas Ventana. Ventanus adj. = *Winchester*.

O. E. B. has 6 exx. g. d. Wintanceastre = Arch. C. 4, O. 3, Ca. 4; Wintonceastre Ca. 1; Wintaceastre T. 2, O. 1, Ca. 1; Wintceastre B. 6. But O has winc- twice with tan above, winte- once with a above.

A. S. C. forms: wintan- A. 10, B. 10, C. 8, D. 8; E. 8; F. 3; G. 10; winta- A. 1; D. 1; winte- A. 3, C. 3; G. 2; wint- B. 1; win- C. 2, D. 2, E. 2, F. 5 -cester C. 1, F. 1, G. 2; -caester D. 1; ceaster passim; false forms Pæntan (i. e. wentan) D. 731; Wiltun D. 897.

Charters: Ninety or more have some form of the name; most are copies, Cod. Wint. 12th c. But 13 or 14 Latin are contemporary and give Wintana, -ia, -iensis usually; wentana, wentonia, wintoniensis very rarely. English contemporary charters (C. S. 478, 630, 678, 702?), give winta- A. D. 854; wintan- 909; winte- 931, 934. English copies as a rule give wintan- to the end of 10th c., passim; winta- rarely; winte- 10th c.; win- middle of 11th c. Of win- Cod. Wint. has 20 exx. of 11th c. The same Cod. W. exhibits also winti- wintæ-, wynch-.

Ælfric has Wintanceaster S. 2. 134; Winceaster S. 1, 442, 454, 464, 466 bis, Wynceaster S. 1, 448, 452.

If we combine A. S. C., Charters and Ælfric, we arrive at these results. Wintan- is earliest and survives into 12th c. as a literary form. Winta- is rare. Winte- begins in A. S. C. in 897, and is found during the 10th c. in A. S. C. and Charters, surviving in Ms. C. in 11th c. Wint- is a form in A. S. C. B. Win- comes in with 11th c.; twice in D. first hand; also in Ælfric; finally prevailing in F. Therefore in O. E. B. Ms. T. with Winta- is non local. So are C. Ca. O shows a half knowledge, obliterated by the corrector. B. is consistent throughout and shows an approximation to the Abingdon Ms. C. of A. S. C. His knowledge is local.

ad Lapidem.

æt Stane T. O. Ca. B. = Arch. = *Stoneham*.

The place adjoined the landing point from the Isle of Wight. This corresponds to C. D. Stanham 712, 713, 714. The elaborate explanations in O. E. B. seo is geceged . . . in sume stowe seo is nemned, 308, 11 are hardly in the tone of one familiar with the spot.

Hreutford M., Hreoutford I, Hreut- II. with od interlined and dots under ut.

Hreodford T. O. Ca. B. = Arch. = *Redbridge*.

The identification seems clear from in C. S. 926 orig., reproduced in later form in C. D. 781, to mylebroce ærest of hreodbricge on tærstan stream . . . on þæs cynges stæð . . . on hamtune. The place is on R. Test five miles from Stoneham, and 3 miles from Southampton.

Soluenta, u dotted in II.

Soluenta T. = Arch., Solwente B., Soluente O. with u erased, Solente Ca. C.

Solent.

Charters only C. W. copies in C. D. 626, 1163 (12th c.) Solentan d.

Clearly the Archetype had Solu-. The erasure in O. probably preceded the transcription by Ca. We can therefore draw no conclusions, as to their knowledge. C. had knowledge

The Solent in Charters includes Southampton Water, C. S. 685. Now sal- = 'dark', 'foul'; hence selian, sylian 'befoul'; sol, sola, = 'mire', 'puddle', 'pond'. The u is generally dropt in compounds, but C. S. 455 gives Heortsolwe. Solwy = 'dirty' (B. T.).

- Vecta insula (9); insula Vecta (2) = 306, 19; 308, 19.
 n. Wiht O. Ca. B. Wihte T. C. once.
 a. Wiht T. O. Ca. B. Wyht O. once, C. once. Wihte Ca. once. g. Wihte C. Ca. B. once. n. a. Wihtland B. 5. Wihtsæte 308, 29 B.

Arch. Wiht = *Wight*.

A. S. C. Wiht, acc. Wihte, Wieht, A. 534, 686.

In 19 years wiht generally; wihte ealand 530, 534; wiht þæt ealand F. 530, 534 (E has land). But Wihtland in a group of years 988—1022 C. D E. In O. E. B. if we omit Ms. B., we find W. þæt ealond 7 times. þ. e. W. 20, 6; 30, 26; W. e. 6, 10; 302, 6. It follows that W. þ. e. is the form preferred by the translator, as in Farne þæt ealond, which is always used, even against the Latin. The usage of B. has been noticed under Cent. Ælfric has also Wihtland, a fact supporting the argument as to 11th c. usage.

Victuarii, once.

- n. p. Wihtsætan Ca. B. once = Arch. But B. has in 308, 29 Wiht sæte 7 (i. e. sæte ond) for Wiht þæt ealond.

A. S. C. Wihtware.

-ware seems local, and Jutish; cp. Meanware, Cantware, Clifware, Kent, C. S. 277; also Tenetware, Kent, C. S. 1212; Mersware, Kent, C. S. 214; cp. burhwara twice in 1212, which word is also Northern (Bouterwek). Sætas is Saxon but also Northern.

Meanuarorum provincia 302, 6.

Meanware mægðe T. C. O. (-ra Ca) = Arch. Meonware m. B.

Meon.

Charters, Meonware. The name Meon is the local form in all charters, except once Mene in the forged Latin C. D. 1067 taken from C. D. 314 = C. S. 553 (K. Alfred's will, copy about 1028—32). There are about a dozen charters nearly all from Cod. Win., of which earliest is C. S. 258 of 790 (copy). C. S. 258 is from Cott. Claud. VI, also 12th c. Ms. B. is therefore alone local. But B. also has an emphatic variation of the text: M. *mægðe þæt is on westseaxena mægðe 7 peode* (T. O. Ca. C. agree with L. B. in omitting *þæt is*, and *mægðe 7*). Now the Meon district is on the borders of Sussex, and in the same passage (300, 30), there is a significant omission of the words *seo ... Westseaxna*, which place Sussex outside Wessex. But Sussex had become a shire of Wessex, (Green Conquest of England p. 234). B. has made other alterations, exhibiting the same tendency to exalt Wessex, e. g. in 166, 26, instead of calling Wessex 'remote' (Lat *intimis* = *fyrrestan*), he calls it 'first' (*fyrstan*). He rightly enough alters into *Wes(t)seaxna* in 168, 35, but blunderingly in 248, 17. The local identification of this scribe is complete see under *Seles ea* etc.

WILTS.

Maildulf urbs, once.

Maldulfes burgh O. C. = Arch., *Maldmes burh* Ca.

Aldelmes burh B.

Malmesbury.

A. S. C. *Ealdelmesbyrig* 1015 C. D. = *Mealdelmes byri(g)*
E. F.

Kemble in C. D. gives 24 charters relating to this place, of which he marks 16 as forgeries. C. S. has others also; see especially Nos. 105, grant by Pope Sergius, Latin from William of Malmesbury, and 106 = Anglosaxon version of 105, 'from Ms. Cott. Otho C. I Gospels, tenth century'. (But is the version 10th c.?). The place is associated (I) with *Maildulf*, a 'Scot', as founder; (II) with *Meldum* as founder, C. S.

105; but the A. Saxon 106 has æt Meldum; (III) with Aldelm as abbot, about 700 A. D. Hence a profusion and confusion of names, due in part to the literary forger. Those that have ancient authority are the following: (1) Maildulf's urbs L. Bede. Hence Maldubiensis, Maeldubesburg; Maldubesberg, Malduberi, Maelduburi in a 14th c. chartulary. But C. S. 569 from W. of M. has the earlier forms Maildubiensis, Mailduberi; (2) Meldumesburg C. S. 105, Maldumes buruh, Mealdumes byrig C. S. 106. Hence Maeldumesburg, Mealdumesburg, Maldumesburg, Meldunesburg, Meldunensburg, Maeldunesburg, Meldunensis, Meldunesburgensis, Maldunensis, all in the 14th century chartulary; (3) Ealdelmesburh A. S. C. Mss. C. D. Hence in Ms. F. I. Corpus Coll. Cam. (Wanley), a book of the monastery is called Aldhelm's book, and the theft of it is a theft from Aldhelm; (4) Then by 'contamination', in A. S. C. E. F. Mealdelmes byrig, and in Cod. Wint. C. D. 593 Mealdælm's byrig.

The form in O. C. of O. E. B. reproduces the Latin Bede. T. is here defective. Ms. B. has an ecclesiastical or literary name, really only applicable to the monastery, but as in so many other instances agreeing with A. S. C. Mss. C. D. Of all Ca. alone has the true local name Maldmes burh, which in the 14th c. is further cut down to Malmesburg C. D. 271 = C. S. 470. Consequently Ca. gives us the earliest record of the abiding local name, if we except C. S. 106. The Charters except C. S. 106, and C. D. 54, 593 all come from a chartulary of Rich. II's reign. (C. D. VI, p. XX); or else from William of M. 11th — 12th c.

We may confidently therefore exclude all O. E. B. Mss., except Ca. from the neighbourhood, while on the other hand Ca.'s affinities, from the Oxford Dorchester through the Hwiccas country and up into Worcester, point to Malmesbury as his local centre.

REPRINT 2018



www.degruyter.com

ISBN 978-3-11-121841-0